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THE MAROONS.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

FRÈME'S STORY.

"I AM of pure African blood," Frème said, "and though I have only a confused recollection of my parents and of my birth-place, I know that my father was a Chief. You may see I am of high caste, for I bear no scars of the tattoo on my face or person. Nor can I say to what tribe I belong. I can only remember, as if I had had a dream a long time ago, that my father used to be always attended by a numerous company of warriors; that he wore the brightest-coloured plumes in his hair; and that one night our village was surprised, when a frightful and sanguinary conflict took place, which terminated in the discomfiture of my father, who was made prisoner, and borne away, with myself, to the Mozambique coast.

"We were sold to the Portuguese, who cribbed us up, with many others, in a baracoon, where we remained several months. At the end of that time, we, and some hundreds of our companions in misfortune, were disposed of to some foreign traders, and forced on board a vessel that was in waiting to receive us, a little way out at sea.

"I was, at first, stupefied with the misery and grief of being torn from my native soil. So long as we remained on it we seemed to cling to a hope of rescue; and notwithstanding my tender age, I shared the hopes of my companions. Well I remember, too, that when the ship began to move, and I saw the land receding from my view, I felt as though I had lost my mother a second time, and flung myself down on the deck to weep away my anguish.

"I do not know how the elder captives were treated. From the time they were thrust below, until their deliverance came, I never saw them. But sometimes, at dead of night, there used to be strange sounds on deck. The men would move up the gangways with heavy loads, which they would cast down on the planks, and presently there would be a loud splashing in the water, as though the load had been thrown overboard. I have often, in one night, counted off my two hands twice over, and sometimes thrice, each finger reckoning as a load, and wondering what the dreadful sounds meant. I know now. They were giving to the sea the poor creatures who had died in the day.

"We children—for there were many others besides myself—were permitted to run about on deck, in the day time, but as soon as the sun sank below the waves, we used to be huddled away all together into a dark cabin on deck, and locked in. One morning, about a fortnight after we had been conveyed on board, I observed the captain looking very anxiously out towards where the sky and water seemed to meet, whilst the men, gathering in groups, gazed in the same direction, and spoke in low whispers, their countenances betraying great uneasiness. We had been many long days becalmed, the vessel rolling from side to side like a log on the glistening surface of the sea, and appearing quite stationary, though every sail was spread to catch the slightest puff of wind. I had noticed that the captain and the crew appeared vexed at our making no progress, for they would frown, and stamp, and mutter strange words; but, on the morning I am speaking of, they were in high glee, a breeze having sprung up in the night which sent the ship flying through the water like an arrow shot

from a bow. It was towards the quarter from which the wind blew they were now looking, and my curiosity being roused, I strained my eyes in the same direction, but could see nothing save a small object that looked like a dot in the sky where the water met it.

"The breeze presently freshened, and then all was bustle on board to keep as much sail spread as possible, without endangering the ship. But the dot grew larger and larger, until it grew into a shape, and I then distinguished it to be another vessel, which was fast overtaking us. In vain did our captain crowd sail, and shift his course: the strange ship still gained upon us. All at once a blaze of fire shot from its side, followed in a few seconds by a loud roar, which had scarcely burst on our ears before a great ball of iron crashed into the side of our vessel, carrying away the cabin where we children used to lie at night.

"And now the captain held a consultation with his crew. Their faces wore a gloomy, despairing expression, and I could see there was great difference of opinion as to what should be done. Whilst they were conferring, another ball struck us, knocking off a great splinter of wood, which hit the captain, who fell dead. Upon this a white flag was run up, and our sails taken in, as a signal that we surrendered, and in a short time the stranger came alongside and took possession of us.

"The whole of the crew were conveyed on board the vessel that had captured us, and then my unfortunate companions were allowed to come on deck. I looked for my father amongst them, but he was not there: and then it was I understood what had taken place of a night when I heard those dreadful splashings.

"A very few days now brought us to this island, on reaching which we were handed over to the government officers.

"You may not have had the opportunity of observing, on the left bank of the river, at St. Denis, a picturesque spot called the *Little Isle*. It may be seen from the sea, as it is on a rising ground. The most beautiful shrubs and handsome trees grow there, from amidst which peep out several cabins covered with creeping plants, the whole nearly surrounding a pretty house, painted outside in various colours. It is to this place the slaves captured by the government cruisers are conveyed; and to it I was brought.

"I must say that we were all well treated. We had good food and raiment, and were well lodged. Every care was taken of us, those who were old enough being set to learn a trade, or some kind of manual labour; so that, taking all circumstances into consideration, we had no reason to complain of our lot, and, indeed, we felt comparatively happy.

"In my own land I was called Coudjoup, which means lion, or panther. When I fell into the hands of the Government it was changed to Frème. I was between six and seven years of age, and the master of the establishment, whose name was *Bolvin*, and who lived in the pretty house I have mentioned, took me into his own family, that I might play with and amuse his children.

"I was too young for grief to make a very profound impression on me; let alone that the change in my position was so much for the better, that it tended much to distract my mind from dwelling on the past. I was naturally of a gay and lively disposition, and soon became a mighty favourite with my companions—two boys and a girl. We used to be always together, and were not happy when, by chance, one or the other was absent. I used to mimic the cries of all kinds of birds and animals to please my young friends, whose joys and troubles became mine; so that if one laughed we all laughed, or if one cried the others did the same. Oh! I was very happy! I grew up as one of the family, and though to teach a slave to read and write is prohibited by the law of the colony, I was permitted to be present when my young masters were receiving instruction, and to the astonishment of them all, I soon learnt to read and write as well as they. I have reason to believe that their father was displeased when this discovery was made, but as I began to be useful in assisting them with their lessons, no further notice was taken, and I made rapid progress in the various elementary branches of knowledge.

"If, however, I studied for the pleasure of acquiring information," continued Frème, casting a look of affection on the young woman seated at his side, "I had another inducement, and that was to aid the little girl, whose play companion I was. I used to point her pencils, and mend her pens, as a part of my duty, and attend to all her wants. I would carry her, too, across puddles and through the bushes, when we were all out together on our juvenile rambles, and often, making her sit on my back, would crawl with her, on all fours, to amuse her."

"Frème, Frème," exclaimed the young woman, interrupting him; "our brother does not want to know all that."

"It is my history I am narrating," pursued Frème, casting his arm around her neck; "and I must tell the whole."

"Well," he resumed, "for all these trifling marks of attention, the little girl was very grateful, and used to give me more sweetmeats and caresses than to her own brothers. And thus we grew up together; the habit of seeing and playing with one another, and of loving one another too so innocently, gathered strength daily. But the time came when we were to part. Her brothers went

away to France to complete their education, and I was obliged to select a trade, and to go to the colonial workshop to learn it. We were all four grieved to the heart by this separation, but the little girl felt it most acutely, for she had no playmate to enliven her solitude; no friend of her own age to speak to, or to share her troubles.

"I have since learnt that she now thought of poor Frème more and more, and of the trifling services he used to feel so happy in rendering her, as well as of the joyous hours they had passed together. And he, too, could not banish her from his mind. Her form was ever before his eyes, and her sweet smile seemed ever encouraging him to labour, and to try and be content.

"Yes!" he continued; "I could not forget her. Oh, what would I not have given, at this time, if I could have had the assurance given to me that I might devote my life to her, though I remained but a slave at her feet. How distracted were my thoughts, lest harm should befall her, and I not by to protect and save her. How great my grief when I reflected that she might fall ill; nay, might even die, and I never see her more. Nor saw I hope even of the slavery I sought in her service. There I was: removed to the colonial workshop, never, never again to approach her familiarly, as of old, or to serve my beloved young white mistress. Many and many a night have I repaired to my straw pallet, to think of her, and to weep till morning broke.

"Nevertheless I make rapid progress in my trade as a carpenter, and as I applied myself to please, as well as to learn, I gave satisfaction to my superiors, who spoke well of me, allowed me many little privileges, and, as soon as I became old enough, gave me a cabin of my own to lodge in.

"As I grew to manhood, my mind dwelt more and more strongly on the young white companion of my childhood. I dwelt upon the happiness I had lost of being ever near her, and whenever I could do so unobserved, would steal furtively to her father's house, access to which was now interdicted to me—for what was I better than a slave—and keeping at a distance, would fix my eyes upon it, as though it were a temple where dwelt my guardian angel, whom I came to adore in secret. I have remained thus for hours, calling up her image as I had known her: first as a child with whom I had played; then as a sister whom I had waited upon and who had caressed me; and then as one who had been suddenly snatched from me, and an abyss placed between us, but whom, from the opposite side, and as if from an immeasurable distance, I beheld as a beautiful white girl, in whose presence I could not appear without trembling:

"Pardon me, brother," he added, address-

ing the Capre, "pardon me for dwelling on this part of my story. It is well, however, you should know all, for you will be the better able to judge how much I have to be thankful for in my present position."

The stranger, whose eyes were moist with starting tears, pressed Frème's hand, and bade him continue.

#### MRS. H. B. STOWE ON THE PROGRESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY FEELING IN AMERICA.

MRS. H. B. STOWE has addressed the following letter to the Editor of the *National Era*, dating from Boston, 2d February ultimo. It is especially valuable as an uncalled for expression of her views of the progress which Anti-Slavery feeling is making in the United States; and will, we feel assured, be read with much gratification by all friends of the cause.

"Our old city is unusually animated this winter. Generally so respectably stupid and sleepy, it has this winter started into an unwonted life. Lectures abound, and are crowded, and the opera is said never to have drawn such full and brilliant houses.

"The course of Anti-Slavery lectures in the Tremont temple have been wonderfully successful. Tickets have been sold at a premium, and the hall, which seats about three thousand, has generally been as full as it could be packed.

"It is a noticeable thing about these lectures, that all the more decided, fearless, and outspoken expressions of feeling, such as once were called ultra, have been listened to with the greatest enthusiasm. Never, since Kossuth was in Boston, have we seen a whole house surging with a greater enthusiasm than during some of these lectures. The lecturers do not so much seem to *produce* feeling, as to develop that which exists. On this subject the whole air seems to be charged with electricity, and a speaker seems to be only the conductor through whom it flashes into expression.

"It is a remarkable and most noticeable fact, that Wendell Phillips, who in other days was considered almost as beneath attention, as a disorganizer and a madman, has drawn one of the largest and most enthusiastic houses of any this winter; and that, though the object of his lecture was to prove the absolute necessity of the dissolution of the Union, he was heard throughout, without the slightest intimation of disapprobation, in the most solemn and attentive silence. The papers endeavour to account for this fact, by attributing to Mr. Phillips an almost fabulous mastery of the magical arts of oratory. As in the time of Luther, the Romish tractarians sought to cover up the mighty fact, that of the aroused movement of society, by ascribing to Luther superhuman gifts of person, intellect, voice, and manner; so now, many seek to blind themselves to the great change in the community, by attributing it to the oratorical power of an individual. They forget the



days when the same dazzling, smooth, and polished eloquence spent its lightnings almost wholly in vain, and that such an audience would once have received such a communication, as the Jews did of old, by crying out, and stopping their ears. The *fact*, which newspaper writers ignore, is, that the tide is rising—slowly, surely, and with resistless regularity. Every year lifts it higher. What once was called ultraism, is now calm, universal belief; and the last and ultimate extreme of the most uncompromising Abolitionists is now looked in the face with a serious scrutiny. It is true that the Northern public have not, as a mass, brought themselves to wish the dissolution of the Union; but they have come to that point in which they are willing to sit still, and give calm attention to the discussion of that subject. The fact that this subject was carefully considered, in a long and elaborate series of articles in the *Tribune*, last season, and that Wendell Phillips has met with such decided acceptance in presenting it before public audiences this winter, are signs of deep significance. Those who have used the cry of dissolution of the Union as a threat to frighten unruly children, may one day find the same threat turned round upon themselves, in a form which has an earnest meaning. It may be their turn to make concessions to prevent it.

"The culminating point of the changed public feeling in Massachusetts, this winter, has been shewn by the election of Wilson to the United States Senate. This is the flash of the long-gathering cloud, the high-water mark of the fast-falling tide.

"No appointment could have been more distasteful to that aristocracy which has so long ruled Boston. To step from attic Everett, whose lips were 'dewy with the Greek of Plato,' to Henry Wilson, from the shoemaker's bench at Natick, seems truly a nine days' fall, and, accordingly, 'confounded Chaos roars.'

"But what has done it? *Who* have done it? They who outraged manhood and womanhood, and human nature, in the late atrocious slave captures. They have elected Wilson. They 'the precious diadem stole' from the head of old Boston, that they might 'put it in their pocket!' They shamed her in her own sight, in the sight of all her sons and daughters; and the deep, hot heart of the people has never forgotten the insult, and this election is the result.

"A business man of Boston, who has hitherto had large Southern dealings, said to us not long ago, in tones of suppressed feeling, 'I was barred from my store by soldiers in Boston streets, that that man might be carried back. I never have forgotten it. *I never will.* My partner and I have made up our minds. We have looked over our Southern lists, and, if necessary, are ready to lose them all; but *our* stand is taken.'

"Such has been the deep resolve of many a heart; and so deep is that ground-swell of the State feeling, that Henry Wilson was borne upon it, against the will of the party that elected him, because that party knew the State would support them on no other terms. The stern voice of the people was at their doors:

'Elect this man, or your party is a cobweb before us;' and they did it.

"We have faith that Henry Wilson will prove that the people were right. The country sometimes comes to a strait, when she must put by a scholar, and take a *man*; and Wilson is a man. Let anybody read one of his terse, nervous sentences, or hear one of his speeches, and then, if any one says, jeeringly, 'That man rose from a shoemaker's bench,' he will answer, 'Let him be proud of it. Other men are made by colleges and schools. This man made himself. And let scholars console themselves with classical precedent of men of low degree exalted, and remember plain old Goodman Cincinnatus, called from his plough to the Consulate, and be comforted. Other folks, it seems, have done so before us; and that is something, in this precedent-loving world. To be sure, there has been one of the leather craft in Congress before—stout old Roger Sherman—who learned to hammer out soles on his lap-stone, before he tried his hand at hammering the Constitution. Old Roger, however, compromised with Slavery, which Henry Wilson will not. His vote and his speech will always be in the right place; and we predict that even his classical compatriot, Sumner, will not merit better of the Republic than he.

"One of the principal sensations of Boston this winter, has been caused by the course of Lectures on Poetry, delivered by Russell Lowell, before the Lowell Institute.

"Such a rush has there been to them, that it has been entirely impossible to accommodate all who sought admission; and Mr. Lowell has repeated them afternoons to equally thronged houses. The course is upon English Poetry, and comprises a history of English Poetry and Poets from the earliest times.

"Every lecture has been a brilliant success—even, as reported in the daily papers, are often more truly poetical than the poems he reviews. These lectures, so full of thought, research, wit, humour, and feeling, are destined to make their mark in our literary history. Yet we trust the author will not forget, in the brilliance of his success, that it is the poet's first work to create, not to analyze.

"Let him give more works for future historians to record. The brilliance of Lowell's wit has so dazzled the eyes of many, that they have not till recently appreciated the wide scope, the deep feeling, the exquisite word painting, the true appreciation of nature, in his serious pieces. There is a spirit and sprightliness about his most careless sketch, that shews the hand of a master. To those who have delighted in him, merely as the gay and entertaining companion, we would recommend a study of his *Vision of Sir Lamfel*, or *Beaver Brook*, or almost any of the fugitive pieces in his two volumes of *Poems*, and they will find him rising before their mind in a new attitude.

"Can America have and cherish poets? Certainly. Does she not? Is our hot, busy, talky, news-mongering age, favourable to the poet? For one reason, it is particularly so. The sensitive heart is *wearied* and *overworn* with this bustling materiality, and longs for a contrast—



for the unreal, the dreamy. In this reactive mood of our over-driven society lies the poet's hope and sphere. We long for him, just as city people long for green trees and quiet streams; and year by year his sway over us will increase. Witness the success of Whittier's last beautiful idyl, *Maud Muller*, which has found its way, like a flash from the *Era*, into newspapers and magazines through the country. We have met it in the parlour and the kitchen, everywhere a favorite. Pray ask him for another!

"Since poetry is eternal, and the need of it constant, the Poet can never cease out of our land."

H. B. S.

### THE TRUE WAY TO ABOLISH SLAVERY.

AN unpretending Pamphlet, bearing the above title, has been forwarded to us. It is the result of the reflections of Mr. James Hurnard, of Colchester, who having lived several years in one of the Slave States of America, and, as he informs his readers, pondered "long and earnestly on the system of Slavery," justly claims attention to the development of his views upon the subject of its abolition.

Mr. Hurnard does not believe that the disuse of slave-grown products, or the superseding of slave-grown cotton by the free-grown staple of India, are either, or both together, likely to accomplish the liberation of the toiling slave. "The consumption of the world is so enormous," he says, "that it absorbs greedily all that can be produced, whether by free men or by slaves. This one fact," he proceeds to observe, "proves the futile nature of all such means, though the persons who employ them may have the satisfaction of washing their own hands of the guilt of complicity."

It is something to have from so sincere a friend of the cause, (who expresses such strong views on the futility of abstaining from the use of slave-labour products as a means to an end,) an admission that there is "guilt of complicity" in voluntarily consuming the productions of the slaves' toil. If all who profess anti-slavery sentiments, saw with our author's eyes, and acted up to their convictions, on this point, to the utmost extent of their ability, a moral testimony against the system would thus be borne by them, which, whether it did or did not diminish the demand for slave-grown cotton, to any appreciable extent, would nevertheless materially strengthen their appeals to the slaveholder. The question is not whether a general disuse of slave-grown products would tend to abolish Slavery; but whether, whilst we are denouncing the system, it is consistent and right to aid in propping it up, by consuming the staples on the profitable sale of which its stability mainly depends. This is the principle for which the advocates

of the free-labour movement contend, and we have not yet met with any one who could successfully impeach its soundness. They have never said that this mode of operating against Slavery is the only one, as our friend appears to assume; nor that it is to supersede every other instrumentality. Believing it is only consistent to act up to their professions, they are content to leave the result in the hands of a Higher Power. If it was necessary to say thus much in vindication of what we believe are the real sentiments of the advocates of the free-labour movement, it is only fair to Mr. Hurnard to add that he does not impeach the integrity of the principle, though he questions its efficacy as an anti-slavery instrumentality.

He also disapproves of the denunciation of slaveholders, and contends that it has only the effect of causing them to enwrap themselves more closely in the mantle of Slavery. There may be something in this; yet the Redeemer of mankind denounced in the strongest language the men who had converted the Temple into "a den of thieves," and even scourged out the money changers, who had sacrilegiously established themselves in it. It is undeniable, as a rule, that the sinful man rebels when rebuked for his sin; but shall he not therefore be rebuked by those who wish to "save him from the wrath to come?" We deem it impossible to separate men from systems; for systems depend upon men for their continuance. If man-stealing be, *per se*, a crime, the man-stealer is a criminal, and it is no calumny to call him one. If to hold a man as a slave be a sin, *per se*, the slaveholder is a sinner, and it surely cannot be unchristian to tell him so, with a view to awaken his conscience to the enormity of his offence. "Abuse" and "a party-spirit" are to be deprecated, certainly. So far we agree with the Essayist; but we do not think it right to call man-stealing and the other crimes which Slavery sanctions, by other than their proper name, nor to disguise the terms by which those men are to be designated who steal men, debauch innocent women, separate families, compel to adultery, and are otherwise, and everywise, and anywise, identified with the hideous institution which a corrupt public opinion not only tolerates, but justifies and defends, though the Christianity and the civilization of the nineteenth century cry *Shame! Shame!*

Mr. Hurnard's remedy is PERSUASION. "Not by the Religious Appeal, for that" he observes, "has hitherto failed to weaken the slaveholding majority." Not that he undervalues it; but alone thinks it insufficient. He would appeal to the slaveholder on the ground of his own interests, being of opinion "that the most vulnerable point in the system of Slavery, is its utter inconsistency

with the true, just, and inflexible principles of Political Economy." He says, alluding to the new anti-slavery platform he proposes to create:

"Another advantage of this platform is, that its assaults are not of a personal nature, like those in which the slave-owner is fiercely condemned, but are directed against the system itself, and are, therefore, not calculated to excite the same irritation and hostility. The doctrines which I advocate tend to *benefit* the slave-owners, many of whom are sufficiently enlightened to dislike the system and to doubt its policy. They are prepared calmly to discuss its character, but will not submit to be abused for their share in it. If I tell a Southern man that I can point out a way in which he may improve his pecuniary circumstances, he will listen to me; but if, on the other hand, I call him 'a wicked slave-driver,' and proclaim to his face that 'Slavery is the sum of all villainies,' he will probably collect a mob to tar and feather me."

With a view to forestall the objections which he anticipates might be urged against the views he entertains, Mr. Hurnard proceeds to defend himself in the following passages, which, in justice to him, we cannot omit. He says:

"But I shall doubtless be attacked by my abolition friends for deserting the high ground of religious principle, and descending to the level of sordid motives and the tactics of expediency. I am quite willing to render myself liable to the censure of being all things to all men, if I can by any means promote the emancipation of the negro race. I deny, however, that the ground of Political Economy is either low or sordid. This science is founded upon truth, and is in all respects in beautiful accordance with the principles of Christianity. Its tendency is to promote the elevation and well-being of mankind. It is by its laws that our world-renowned manufacturers and our honourable merchant princes, conduct their vast transactions and exalt their country in the scale of nations. Strange as it may appear, it is upon this ground of Political Economy that Slavery is chiefly maintained and defended. It is erroneously believed to be a profitable and advantageous domestic institution. Now, the simplest principles of Political Economy are sufficient to prove that this is a popular fallacy. Whatever system is false in principle is also false in policy. It is altogether contrary to the Divine Laws that *error* and *wrong* should be more profitable and advantageous to mankind than *truth* and *right*. Let Slavery, therefore, be fairly and boldly met upon its own chosen ground, for until the fallacies upon which it is based are demolished, vain will be the arguments of humanity and justice. Slavery cannot be abolished without at least the consent of a considerable portion of the pro-slavery party, and it must be acknowledged, that no system of emancipation is likely to be undertaken till the minds of the slaveholders are disabused as to the commercial value of Slavery. Whether truly or falsely, it is well known that they attribute the increase of their attachment to Slavery to

the violence of the religious crusade of the Abolitionists. I freely and fully admit that Slavery is a sin. But long experience has served to prove, that to denounce the sin of Slavery, is to exasperate the sinner, and convert him, not into an Abolitionist, but into an enemy. I doubt, therefore, whether the religious platform is the best adapted for successful assaults against Slavery. I own it admits of the most eloquent and thrilling advocacy of freedom and every Christian virtue, and the most withering denunciations of oppression, cruelty, and wrong; but bad men—and we know the slaveowners are usually described as such—are far less open to convictions of truth, justice, and mercy, than they are to reasons of commercial advantage, private profit, and domestic security. We may lament the fact, but it is a universal fact nevertheless, that the conduct and opinions of the great mass of mankind are far more strongly influenced by ideas of self-interest, than by the most fervent appeals of justice, humanity, and religious duty. When, however, those ideas of self-interest are sanctioned and vindicated by the pastors of the church, how can the most sanguine entertain the hope of making converts through the Religious Appeal. The shafts which are drawn from the armoury of religion, fly far above the heads of the slaveholders. Moreover, I am obliged to say that the Religious Appeal against Slavery has not been conducted with the soundest discretion. The vocabulary of the abolition party—and I confess I have had my share in it—is the richest in abuse of any thing of the kind since the days of the Commonwealth. Now, to speak with all seriousness, we must acknowledge that the distinguishing characteristic of the Christian Religion is benignity. We read in the divine records, that among the fruits of the Spirit are 'long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, and temperance,' and we are enjoined to 'speak evil of no man—to be no brawlers, but gentle—shewing all meekness unto all men.' A course the very reverse has been too long pursued by the abolition party. The pro-slavery party have retorted with equal rancour, and consequently, the bitterest feeling exists on both sides. Abolitionism, I grant, has greatly spread in the Free States, but pro-slavery is equally intensified at the South.

"Another objection to the Religious Appeal is the weakness produced by internal dissension. The various sects into which the Christian church is divided, will not co-operate harmoniously in the great cause of Emancipation. The Quakers, who commenced the crusade against Slavery, and early expelled it from the pale of their own church, and who have always taken a warm interest in abolition, will not join with Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists. These sects are not the most cordial with each other. Many members of each of these different bodies hold themselves aloof from the Unitarians, some of whom are among the most distinguished leaders of the abolition party in America. Success can hardly be anticipated from the disjointed efforts of these opposite sects, especially when it is considered that they are crippled and compromised by the proceedings of their co-religionists at the South."



The history of the Anti-Corn-Law agitation furnishes abundant evidence that the politico-economic aspects of that subject were esteemed to have a sufficiently evident religious bearing to warrant its being ranked amongst the foremost of the questions that might be advocated upon strictly religious grounds. We therefore think Mr. Hurnard's justification of his views scarcely necessary, for we apprehend few persons will be found who will raise a serious objection to their soundness. It is curious that the same number of the *Reporter* should contain an expression of almost precisely similar views, by two parties who probably never had seen nor heard of one another. This will be perceived by a reference to another column, in which is given an extract from a Lecture delivered by the late Lorenzo Allo, of Havana, a professor of Political Economy, of some distinction; and we have good evidence to warrant us in stating, that the soundness of these views are endorsed by the leading Free-traders of the day. We would not, however, recommend that the anti-slavery cause should be advocated on economic grounds alone. Strong as these may be, it must ever be borne in mind that the emancipation of the Slave in the British Colonies was carried because it was considered a religious question; and we have the authority of one who is regarded as the brightest luminary of the American Churches—the Rev. Albert Barnes—for the statement, that were it not for the support given to the “Domestic Institution” by professedly religious teachers—by the American Churches in fact—Slavery in the Trans-Atlantic Republic could not exist for a day. Wherefore, whilst admitting the soundness of the politico-economic principle, we cannot, so far as we have any influence to prevent it, allow it to supersede the higher standard by which this great question is to be tested. It must ever be borne in mind that the chattelization of a human being is the sin of Slavery, and not to attack it, first, would be to condone the offence. The inexpediency of Slavery as a labour system is one thing; its influence as a system at all, is another. Were it even expedient, in the former case, we could not, we must not, as professing Christians, therefore, sanction it, if it were found, *per se*, sinful. That it is so, has been long since recognised, and this is, in our view, a sufficient reason for giving most prominence to the religious aspects of the Anti-slavery cause, though not depreciating the immense importance of its economic bearings.

We will conclude this notice by giving the closing remarks in the pamphlet of Mr. Hurnard, in which he sets forth his plan in a sufficiently succinct form. We hope his project will find numerous partisans, both in this country and in America.

“It now remains for me to state the course of proceeding which I recommend to be adopted. I must, however, first advert to the objection which may be advanced, that it is wrong for the people of one country to interfere in the domestic affairs of another. I fully admit the general principle, nor do I consider that as an Anglo-American I infringe it in the present instance. My object is not to interfere, but simply to offer a friendly word of counsel, and thus discharge my own sense of duty in this momentous matter. I admire the martyr-spirit of the American Abolitionists; but being convinced that they are pursuing a wrong track, I wish to point out to them, what I have endeavoured in this essay to prove is the right road, leaving them in their own country to follow it out. The course, then, which I recommend is as follows: Let a Society be formed in America of persons who subscribe to the views explained in this essay. Let it be a cardinal point in their conduct not to irritate their opponents, for they must ever remember that their object is to succeed by persuasion. Let them attack Slavery, but not the slaveholder. If we wish to convince a man we must not anger him. They would do well to follow the example of the presiding genius of the Anti-Corn-Law League, Richard Cobden, who was content to take his stand upon his own unimpeachable character, and who appeared to lay it down as the rule of his conduct never to indulge in personalities, and never to reply to attacks directed against himself, knowing that whoever permits himself to be betrayed into anger lowers himself to the level of his opponent. The slaveholders of the great American Republic are ashamed of the word ‘Slavery,’ implying, as it does, a gross anomaly in their form of government, and use instead the term ‘Domestic Institution.’ Let this Society, therefore, call itself by the inoffensive name of the ‘Economic Labour League,’ or some such pacific designation. Let the members study the history and policy of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Let them not attach themselves to any political party, but confine themselves to one great object, and let that object be total and immediate Emancipation. Let them, however, accept every instalment which they can obtain. Let them hold public meetings to discuss and disseminate their doctrines, and let them deluge the country with millions of tracts. Let them rigidly adhere to the *Economic* branch of the question, examining it thoroughly in all its various ramifications. Let them publish throughout the length and breadth of the land, statistical proofs that slave-labour is costlier than free-labour—that slave-property absorbs a vast amount of capital, which might be more profitably invested or employed, and that it is more advantageous to hire labourers than to hold slaves. Let them reiterate that the owners of slaves are continually liable to suffer the loss of them by death or escape from bondage—that they are never safe from the danger of a negro insurrection—and that slaves are wasteful, careless, idle, mischievous, and untrustworthy, compared with paid labourers. Let them also publish authentic statistics of the amount of work performed in a given time



with the true, just, and inflexible principles of Political Economy." He says, alluding to the new anti-slavery platform he proposes to create:

"Another advantage of this platform is, that its assaults are not of a personal nature, like those in which the slave-owner is fiercely condemned, but are directed against the system itself, and are, therefore, not calculated to excite the same irritation and hostility. The doctrines which I advocate tend to *benefit* the slave-owners, many of whom are sufficiently enlightened to dislike the system and to doubt its policy. They are prepared calmly to discuss its character, but will not submit to be abused for their share in it. If I tell a Southern man that I can point out a way in which he may improve his pecuniary circumstances, he will listen to me; but if, on the other hand, I call him 'a wicked slave-driver,' and proclaim to his face that 'Slavery is the sum of all villanies,' he will probably collect a mob to tar and feather me."

With a view to forestall the objections which he anticipates might be urged against the views he entertains, Mr. Hurnard proceeds to defend himself in the following passages, which, in justice to him, we cannot omit. He says:

"But I shall doubtless be attacked by my abolition friends for deserting the high ground of religious principle, and descending to the level of sordid motives and the tactics of expediency. I am quite willing to render myself liable to the censure of being all things to all men, if I can by any means promote the emancipation of the negro race. I deny, however, that the ground of Political Economy is either low or sordid. This science is founded upon truth, and is in all respects in beautiful accordance with the principles of Christianity. Its tendency is to promote the elevation and well-being of mankind. It is by its laws that our world-renowned manufacturers and our honourable merchant princes, conduct their vast transactions and exalt their country in the scale of nations. Strange as it may appear, it is upon this ground of Political Economy that Slavery is chiefly maintained and defended. It is erroneously believed to be a profitable and advantageous domestic institution. Now, the simplest principles of Political Economy are sufficient to prove that this is a popular fallacy. Whatever system is false in principle is also false in policy. It is altogether contrary to the Divine Laws that *error* and *wrong* should be more profitable and advantageous to mankind than *truth* and *right*. Let Slavery, therefore, be fairly and boldly met upon its own chosen ground, for until the fallacies upon which it is based are demolished, vain will be the arguments of humanity and justice. Slavery cannot be abolished without at least the consent of a considerable portion of the pro-slavery party, and it must be acknowledged, that no system of emancipation is likely to be undertaken till the minds of the slaveholders are disabused as to the commercial value of Slavery. Whether truly or falsely, it is well known that they attribute the increase of their attachment to Slavery to

the violence of the religious crusade of the Abolitionists. I freely and fully admit that Slavery is a sin. But long experience has served to prove, that to denounce the sin of Slavery, is to exasperate the sinner, and convert him, not into an Abolitionist, but into an enemy. I doubt, therefore, whether the religious platform is the best adapted for successful assaults against Slavery. I own it admits of the most eloquent and thrilling advocacy of freedom and every Christian virtue, and the most withering denunciations of oppression, cruelty, and wrong; but bad men—and we know the slaveowners are usually described as such—are far less open to convictions of truth, justice, and mercy, than they are to reasons of commercial advantage, private profit, and domestic security. We may lament the fact, but it is a universal fact nevertheless, that the conduct and opinions of the great mass of mankind are far more strongly influenced by ideas of self-interest, than by the most fervent appeals of justice, humanity, and religious duty. When, however, those ideas of self-interest are sanctioned and vindicated by the pastors of the church, how can the most sanguine entertain the hope of making converts through the Religious Appeal. The shafts which are drawn from the armoury of religion, fly far above the heads of the slaveholders. Moreover, I am obliged to say that the Religious Appeal against Slavery has not been conducted with the soundest discretion. The vocabulary of the abolition party—and I confess I have had my share in it—is the richest in abuse of any thing of the kind since the days of the Commonwealth. Now, to speak with all seriousness, we must acknowledge that the distinguishing characteristic of the Christian Religion is benignity. We read in the divine records, that among the fruits of the Spirit are 'long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, and temperance,' and we are enjoined to 'speak evil of no man—to be no brawlers, but gentle—shewing all meekness unto all men.' A course the very reverse has been too long pursued by the abolition party. The pro-slavery party have retorted with equal rancour, and consequently, the bitterest feeling exists on both sides. Abolitionism, I grant, has greatly spread in the Free States, but pro-slavery is equally intensified at the South.

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by free men and by slaves, and also shew the difference in the value of the services of the educated and the uneducated labourer. Let them publish the results of emancipation in the British West-India Colonies. Let them compare the progress in wealth and prosperity of the American Free States with the Slave States; and let them shew the tax-bearing capabilities of the two, with their relative powers of production and consumption. Finally, let them also shew in what degree wealth in slaves is counterpoised by the reduction in the worth of land. It is important for them, above all things, to state nothing but facts, for facts are irresistible. This 'Economic Labour League,' if it proceed with prudence and energy, will presently be strengthened by the adhesion of men of respectability of all sects and parties, for all will find, that when their religious opinions are not involved or compromised in working out the question, they can cordially and harmoniously co-operate in the great and good cause. Even some of the slaveholders themselves will join this League. If it be found to deserve public confidence, it will suffer from no lack of funds to carry on its operations, and increase of revenue will give it increase of influence. The assaults of this League upon the *American Domestic Institution* will inevitably loosen the hold which it retains upon the understandings and affections of those whose interests are concerned. When it is proved to be a political mistake and an unprofitable delusion, its supporters will look more closely into its real character, and the ministers of religion, no longer blinded by prejudice, will be prepared to discover that it is opposed to the sacred principles of Christianity. The system of Slavery being thus undermined, will only await a governmental crisis to receive its doom. It will then crumble to the dust, for political parties will make its downfall a means to rise to power."

### Miscellanea.

**THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.**—A fugitive slave was at Bangor last week, who said he ran away from his master at Alexandria, Va., because he intended to sell him to a Florida planter. A son of his master, of about his own age, furnished him with money to pay his fare to New York, and he walked from Portland to Bangor. He estimated his value in Virginia at 900 dollars. The good people of Bangor put him through on the underground railroad for New Brunswick.—*New-York Tribune.*

**A LUCKY SLAVE.**—Gabriel L. M. Renfran, a bright intelligent negro, owned near New Orleans, and hired out by his master as a steward on steamboats on the Lower Mississippi, is the lucky holder of ticket No. —, in Jones's great gift enterprise, and has drawn the *farm* valued at 25,000 dollars. He has, in a well-written letter, notified the Committee of his condition, and accepting of their cash offer. He requests them, personally, to secure the freedom of himself and family first, and then pay him the balance over the expenses to start him in the world. The appeal is thrilling and affecting.—*Anti-Slavery Standard.*

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SATURDAY, MARCH 31st, 1855.

### CUBAN SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, have transmitted to His Highness, Marshal Espartero, the subjoined Address on the continuance of the Slave-trade to Cuba, and on the Emancipation of the Slaves in that Island. The events which have recently happened there—an especial notice of which will be found in another column—impart to this document more than ordinary importance, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, throughout the country, are earnestly requested to give as much publicity to it as possible.

To His Highness

MARSHAL ESPARTERO,

Duke of Victory, &c.

HIGHNESS,

The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* desire respectfully to address you on the important subject of the Slave-trade, and of Slavery, in the island of Cuba. The extinction, by moral and pacific means, of these two evils, wherever they exist, is the primary object which this Society has in view; and in the prosecution of it, the Committee have been accustomed to address personages in authority, with a view to induce them to employ their influence for their suppression.

The Committee believe your Highness will coincide with them in regarding Slavery not only as an evil of great magnitude in itself, but as a system highly criminal in the eyes of God, and therefore one which should not be tolerated, much less sanctioned, by any nation professing the Christian religion.

It has been the privilege of some members of the Committee, individually to communicate with your Highness, on this important question, on previous occasions; and the ready attention which you then paid to their representations, encourages the Committee to hope that the present address will be received with at least equal favour.

The Committee would in the first place, refer to the continuance of the Slave-trade to Cuba.

Your Highness is of course aware that Spain is bound by treaty with Great Britain to suppress this odious traffic in human beings. On the 23d of September 1817, Spain engaged that the Slave-trade should be abolished throughout her dominions, on the 30th of May 1820, and that from and after that period, it should not be lawful for any of her subjects to purchase Slaves, or to carry on the Slave-trade on any part of the coast of Africa, upon any pretext, or in any manner whatever. As compensation both for losses which Spain had sustained by the capture of her slave-ships, prior to this treaty, and for losses which she might sustain by the



intended abolition of the Slave-trade, His Britannic Majesty engaged to pay the sum of 400,000*l.* sterling to such persons as His Catholic Majesty should appoint to receive the same.

Notwithstanding, however, the ratification of this treaty, and the paying of this large sum of money, no effectual steps for carrying out its stipulations were taken by the Spanish Government.

In consequence, it was found necessary to conclude, on the 28th of June 1835, a new convention, in the spirit of the treaty of 1817, to render it more effective.

In this convention, Her Majesty the Queen Regent again declared the Slave-trade to be thenceforward totally and finally abolished by Spain in all parts of the world. Her Majesty also engaged, on behalf of her daughter, Donna Isabella the Second, to take the most effectual measures for preventing her subjects from being concerned, and her flag from being used, in carrying on in any way the trade in Slaves; and especially that she would promulgate throughout her dominions a penal law, inflicting a severe punishment on all those of her subjects who should, under any pretext, take any part whatever in the traffic.

But notwithstanding these solemn engagements, the Slave-trade was permitted to continue, and it was not until the 2d of March 1845, ten years after the above-named convention had been concluded, that the penal law in question was passed, though promised to be promulgated within two months after the ratifications of the said convention had been exchanged.

In relation to this penal law, the Committee would remark, that as it did not declare the Slave-trade piracy, it was very imperfectly calculated to accomplish the object for which it was enacted; and further, that it was rendered to a great extent inoperative, by the peculiar restrictions under which the local authorities were placed in prosecuting offenders, rendering conviction next to impossible.

It does not appear that any more effective measures have since been adopted, either by the Spanish Government or by the local authorities of Cuba, to put an end to the traffic in Slaves. It has, consequently, been continuously prosecuted for thirty-five years, in the face of these most solemn engagements on the part of Spain, to employ her utmost efforts for its suppression.

It is difficult to estimate with accuracy the number of Slaves who have been, under these circumstances, surreptitiously introduced into the island during this period. In the official correspondence on this subject, between the Spanish and the British Governments, it is stated that the local census returns shew a positive increase, up to 1843, of not less than 15,000 annually. But there is too good reason to believe that even this large number is only an approximation to the truth. The Earl of Aberdeen, writing to Mr. Bulwer on the 31st of December 1843, states authoritatively that the census of 1841, on which the foregoing estimate was based, is known to have been incorrect; and that it was believed the number of the Slave population was purposely concealed, for that, according to

the most intelligent inhabitants of the island, it was not at that very time less than between 800,000 and 900,000; though in 1821 the number of slaves in Cuba was estimated at only 265,000. Now as their natural increase is known to be extremely small, the evidence appears conclusive, that within a period of twenty years—namely, from 1821 to 1841—the Slave population had been nearly quadrupled by illegal importations from Africa.

The Committee have every reason to believe, that since 1841, the average annual importations of Slaves have not diminished, except perhaps during the brief period that General Valdez governed Cuba. Even the annual reports of Her Majesty's Consuls at Havanna—though, for obvious reasons, they must furnish a most imperfect approximation to the number of slaves really landed during any given period—shew an addition to the Slave population, wholly supplied by the foreign traffic, of not less than 10,000 annually. But from other sources of information which the Committee possess, and on which they can place at least equal reliance, they believe they may safely express it as their opinion, that since 1841, to the close of 1853, at least from 12,000 to 15,000 slaves have been annually imported, making a gross addition to the Slave population of not less than 150,000 within that period.

The Committee would observe, that there is scarcely a fact with which they have been so much struck, and which has filled them with so much discouragement, as the startling discrepancies they have found to exist in the official censuses of the Slave population, as compared with the estimate of it derived from other official as well as independent sources.

They would instance the census of 1850, as given authoritatively by General Concha, in his work published at Madrid in 1853, entitled, *Memorias sobre el Estado Político de la Isla de Cuba por el teniente General D. José de la Concha*.

In this work, the total number of slaves in the three departments into which Cuba is divided, is set down as having been, in 1850, only 322,519. In the Earl of Aberdeen's despatch to Mr. Bulwer, already referred to, the return of Slaves, according to the census of 1841, is given at 496,495; although his lordship affirms, upon authority, that this number was notoriously believed to be only a few thousands above half of the actual Slave population.

The impression which cannot fail to be produced on impartial minds, by facts such as these, is, that systematic deception in relation to the Slave-trade to Cuba is practised to an unlimited extent, with perfect impunity; and the inevitable conclusion follows, that some powerful motive must exist for concealing the actual state of things there.

It is extremely painful to the Committee, to have to refer to the flagrant violation by Spain, of the treaties and obligations she is under to the British Government for the suppression of the Slave-trade. The efforts of Her Britannic Majesty's Ministers for Foreign Affairs have, since the conclusion of those treaties, been unremittingly directed to induce the Spanish Government to fulfil its engagements. Those efforts

with the true, just, and inflexible principles of Political Economy." He says, alluding to the *new* anti-slavery platform he proposes to create:

"Another advantage of this platform is, that its assaults are not of a personal nature, like those in which the slave-owner is fiercely condemned, but are directed against the system itself, and are, therefore, not calculated to excite the same irritation and hostility. The doctrines which I advocate tend to *benefit* the slave-owners, many of whom are sufficiently enlightened to dislike the system and to doubt its policy. They are prepared calmly to discuss its character, but will not submit to be abused for their share in it. If I tell a Southern man that I can point out a way in which he may improve his pecuniary circumstances, he will listen to me; but if, on the other hand, I call him 'a wicked slave-driver,' and proclaim to his face that 'Slavery is the sum of all villainies,' he will probably collect a mob to tar and feather me."

With a view to forestall the objections which he anticipates might be urged against the views he entertains, Mr. Hurnard proceeds to defend himself in the following passages, which, in justice to him, we cannot omit. He says:

"But I shall doubtless be attacked by my abolition friends for deserting the high ground of religious principle, and descending to the level of sordid motives and the tactics of expediency. I am quite willing to render myself liable to the censure of being all things to all men, if I can by any means promote the emancipation of the negro race. I deny, however, that the ground of Political Economy is either low or sordid. This science is founded upon truth, and is in all respects in beautiful accordance with the principles of Christianity. Its tendency is to promote the elevation and well-being of mankind. It is by its laws that our world-renowned manufacturers and our honourable merchant princes, conduct their vast transactions and exalt their country in the scale of nations. Strange as it may appear, it is upon this ground of Political Economy that Slavery is chiefly maintained and defended. It is erroneously believed to be a profitable and advantageous domestic institution. Now, the simplest principles of Political Economy are sufficient to prove that this is a popular fallacy. Whatever system is false in principle is also false in policy. It is altogether contrary to the Divine Laws that *error* and *wrong* should be more profitable and advantageous to mankind than *truth* and *right*. Let Slavery, therefore, be fairly and boldly met upon its own chosen ground, for until the fallacies upon which it is based are demolished, vain will be the arguments of humanity and justice. Slavery cannot be abolished without at least the consent of a considerable portion of the pro-slavery party, and it must be acknowledged, that no system of emancipation is likely to be undertaken till the minds of the slaveholders are disabused as to the commercial value of Slavery. Whether truly or falsely, it is well known that they attribute the increase of their attachment to Slavery to

the violence of the religious crusade of the Abolitionists. I freely and fully admit that Slavery is a sin. But long experience has served to prove, that to denounce the sin of Slavery, is to exasperate the sinner, and convert him, not into an Abolitionist, but into an enemy. I doubt, therefore, whether the religious platform is the best adapted for successful assaults against Slavery. I own it admits of the most eloquent and thrilling advocacy of freedom and every Christian virtue, and the most withering denunciations of oppression, cruelty, and wrong; but bad men—and we know the slaveowners are usually described as such—are far less open to convictions of truth, justice, and mercy, than they are to reasons of commercial advantage, private profit, and domestic security. We may lament the fact, but it is a universal fact nevertheless, that the conduct and opinions of the great mass of mankind are far more strongly influenced by ideas of self-interest, than by the most fervent appeals of justice, humanity, and religious duty. When, however, those ideas of self-interest are sanctioned and vindicated by the pastors of the church, how can the most sanguine entertain the hope of making converts through the Religious Appeal. The shafts which are drawn from the armoury of religion, fly far above the heads of the slaveholders. Moreover, I am obliged to say that the Religious Appeal against Slavery has not been conducted with the soundest discretion. The vocabulary of the abolition party—and I confess I have had my share in it—is the richest in abuse of any thing of the kind since the days of the Commonwealth. Now, to speak with all seriousness, we must acknowledge that the distinguishing characteristic of the Christian Religion is benignity. We read in the divine records, that among the fruits of the Spirit are 'long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, and temperance,' and we are enjoined to 'speak evil of no man—to be no brawlers, but gentle—shewing all meekness unto all men.' A course the very reverse has been too long pursued by the abolition party. The pro-slavery party have retorted with equal rancour, and consequently, the bitterest feeling exists on both sides. Abolitionism, I grant, has greatly spread in the Free States, but pro-slavery is equally intensified at the South.

"Another objection to the Religious Appeal is the weakness produced by internal dissension. The various sects into which the Christian church is divided, will not co-operate harmoniously in the great cause of Emancipation. The Quakers, who commenced the crusade against Slavery, and early expelled it from the pale of their own church, and who have always taken a warm interest in abolition, will not join with Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists. These sects are not the most cordial with each other. Many members of each of these different bodies hold themselves aloof from the Unitarians, some of whom are among the most distinguished leaders of the abolition party in America. Success can hardly be anticipated from the disjointed efforts of these opposite sects, especially when it is considered that they are crippled and compromised by the proceedings of their co-religionists at the South."



The history of the Anti-Corn-Law agitation furnishes abundant evidence that the politico-economic aspects of that subject were esteemed to have a sufficiently evident religious bearing to warrant its being ranked amongst the foremost of the questions that might be advocated upon strictly religious grounds. We therefore think Mr. Hurnard's justification of his views scarcely necessary, for we apprehend few persons will be found who will raise a serious objection to their soundness. It is curious that the same number of the *Reporter* should contain an expression of almost precisely similar views, by two parties who probably never had seen nor heard of one another. This will be perceived by a reference to another column, in which is given an extract from a Lecture delivered by the late Lorenzo Allo, of Havana, a professor of Political Economy, of some distinction; and we have good evidence to warrant us in stating, that the soundness of these views are endorsed by the leading Free-traders of the day. We would not, however, recommend that the anti-slavery cause should be advocated on economic grounds alone. Strong as these may be, it must ever be borne in mind that the emancipation of the Slave in the British Colonies was carried because it was considered a religious question; and we have the authority of one who is regarded as the brightest luminary of the American Churches—the Rev. Albert Barnes—for the statement, that were it not for the support given to the "Domestic Institution" by professedly religious teachers—by the American Churches in fact—Slavery in the Trans-Atlantic Republic could not exist for a day. Wherefore, whilst admitting the soundness of the politico-economic principle, we cannot, so far as we have any influence to prevent it, allow it to supersede the higher standard by which this great question is to be tested. It must ever be borne in mind that the chattelization of a human being is the sin of Slavery, and not to attack it, first, would be to condone the offence. The inexpediency of Slavery as a labour system is one thing; its influence as a system at all, is another. Were it even expedient, in the former case, we could not, we must not, as professing Christians, therefore, sanction it, if it were found, *per se*, sinful. That it is so, has been long since recognised, and this is, in our view, a sufficient reason for giving most prominence to the religious aspects of the Anti-slavery cause, though not depreciating the immense importance of its economic bearings.

We will conclude this notice by giving the closing remarks in the pamphlet of Mr. Hurnard, in which he sets forth his plan in a sufficiently succinct form. We hope his project will find numerous partisans, both in this country and in America.

"It now remains for me to state the course of proceeding which I recommend to be adopted. I must, however, first advert to the objection which may be advanced, that it is wrong for the people of one country to interfere in the domestic affairs of another. I fully admit the general principle, nor do I consider that as an Anglo-American I infringe it in the present instance. My object is not to interfere, but simply to offer a friendly word of counsel, and thus discharge my own sense of duty in this momentous matter. I admire the martyr-spirit of the American Abolitionists; but being convinced that they are pursuing a wrong track, I wish to point out to them, what I have endeavoured in this essay to prove is the right road, leaving them in their own country to follow it out. The course, then, which I recommend is as follows: Let a Society be formed in America of persons who subscribe to the views explained in this essay. Let it be a cardinal point in their conduct not to irritate their opponents, for they must ever remember that their object is to succeed by persuasion. Let them attack Slavery, but not the slaveholder. If we wish to convince a man we must not anger him. They would do well to follow the example of the presiding genius of the Anti-Corn-Law League, Richard Cobden, who was content to take his stand upon his own unimpeachable character, and who appeared to lay it down as the rule of his conduct never to indulge in personalities, and never to reply to attacks directed against himself, knowing that whoever permits himself to be betrayed into anger lowers himself to the level of his opponent. The slaveholders of the great American Republic are ashamed of the word 'Slavery,' implying, as it does, a gross anomaly in their form of government, and use instead the term 'Domestic Institution.' Let this Society, therefore, call itself by the inoffensive name of the 'Economic Labour League,' or some such pacific designation. Let the members study the history and policy of the Anti-Corn-Law League. Let them not attach themselves to any political party, but confine themselves to one great object, and let that object be total and immediate Emancipation. Let them, however, accept every instalment which they can obtain. Let them hold public meetings to discuss and disseminate their doctrines, and let them deluge the country with millions of tracts. Let them rigidly adhere to the *Economic* branch of the question, examining it thoroughly in all its various ramifications. Let them publish throughout the length and breadth of the land, statistical proofs that slave-labour is costlier than free-labour—that slave-property absorbs a vast amount of capital, which might be more profitably invested or employed, and that it is more advantageous to hire labourers than to hold slaves. Let them reiterate that the owners of slaves are continually liable to suffer the loss of them by death or escape from bondage—that they are never safe from the danger of a negro insurrection—and that slaves are wasteful, careless, idle, mischievous, and untrustworthy, compared with paid labourers. Let them also publish authentic statistics of the amount of work performed in a given time



by free men and by slaves, and also shew the difference in the value of the services of the educated and the uneducated labourer. Let them publish the results of emancipation in the British West-India Colonies. Let them compare the progress in wealth and prosperity of the American Free States with the Slave States; and let them shew the tax-bearing capabilities of the two, with their relative powers of production and consumption. Finally, let them also shew in what degree wealth in slaves is counterpoised by the reduction in the worth of land. It is important for them, above all things, to state nothing but facts, for facts are irresistible. This 'Economic Labour League,' if it proceed with prudence and energy, will presently be strengthened by the adhesion of men of respectability of all sects and parties, for all will find, that when their religious opinions are not involved or compromised in working out the question, they can cordially and harmoniously co-operate in the great and good cause. Even some of the slaveholders themselves will join this League. If it be found to deserve public confidence, it will suffer from no lack of funds to carry on its operations, and increase of revenue will give it increase of influence. The assaults of this League upon the *American Domestic Institution* will inevitably loosen the hold which it retains upon the understandings and affections of those whose interests are concerned. When it is proved to be a political mistake and an unprofitable delusion, its supporters will look more closely into its real character, and the ministers of religion, no longer blinded by prejudice, will be prepared to discover that it is opposed to the sacred principles of Christianity. The system of Slavery being thus undermined, will only await a governmental crisis to receive its doom. It will then crumble to the dust, for political parties will make its downfall a means to rise to power."

### Miscellanea.

**THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.**—A fugitive slave was at Bangor last week, who said he ran away from his master at Alexandria, Va., because he intended to sell him to a Florida planter. A son of his master, of about his own age, furnished him with money to pay his fare to New York, and he walked from Portland to Bangor. He estimated his value in Virginia at 900 dollars. The good people of Bangor put him through on the underground railroad for New Brunswick.—*New-York Tribune*.

**A LUCKY SLAVE.**—Gabriel L. M. Renfran, a bright intelligent negro, owned near New Orleans, and hired out by his master as a steward on steamboats on the Lower Mississippi, is the lucky holder of ticket No. —, in Jones's great gift enterprise, and has drawn the *farm* valued at 25,000 dollars. He has, in a well-written letter, notified the Committee of his condition, and accepting of their cash offer. He requests them, personally, to secure the freedom of himself and family first, and then pay him the balance over the expenses to start him in the world. The appeal is thrilling and affecting.—*Anti-Slavery Standard*.

## The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

SATURDAY, MARCH 31st, 1855.

### CUBAN SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, have transmitted to His Highness, Marshal Espartero, the subjoined Address on the continuance of the Slave-trade to Cuba, and on the Emancipation of the Slaves in that Island. The events which have recently happened there—an especial notice of which will be found in another column—impart to this document more than ordinary importance, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, throughout the country, are earnestly requested to give as much publicity to it as possible.

To His Highness

MARSHAL ESPARTERO,  
Duke of Victory, &c.

HIGHNESS,

The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* desire respectfully to address you on the important subject of the Slave-trade, and of Slavery, in the island of Cuba. The extinction, by moral and pacific means, of these two evils, wherever they exist, is the primary object which this Society has in view; and in the prosecution of it, the Committee have been accustomed to address personages in authority, with a view to induce them to employ their influence for their suppression.

The Committee believe your Highness will coincide with them in regarding Slavery not only as an evil of great magnitude in itself, but as a system highly criminal in the eyes of God, and therefore one which should not be tolerated, much less sanctioned, by any nation professing the Christian religion.

It has been the privilege of some members of the Committee, individually to communicate with your Highness, on this important question, on previous occasions; and the ready attention which you then paid to their representations, encourages the Committee to hope that the present address will be received with at least equal favour.

The Committee would in the first place, refer to the continuance of the Slave-trade to Cuba.

Your Highness is of course aware that Spain is bound by treaty with Great Britain to suppress this odious traffic in human beings. On the 23d of September 1817, Spain engaged that the Slave-trade should be abolished throughout her dominions, on the 30th of May 1820, and that from and after that period, it should not be lawful for any of her subjects to purchase Slaves, or to carry on the Slave-trade on any part of the coast of Africa, upon any pretext, or in any manner whatever. As compensation both for losses which Spain had sustained by the capture of her slave-ships, prior to this treaty, and for losses which she might sustain by the

intended abolition of the Slave-trade, His Britannic Majesty engaged to pay the sum of 400,000*l.* sterling to such persons as His Catholic Majesty should appoint to receive the same.

Notwithstanding, however, the ratification of this treaty, and the paying of this large sum of money, no effectual steps for carrying out its stipulations were taken by the Spanish Government.

In consequence, it was found necessary to conclude, on the 28th of June 1835, a new convention, in the spirit of the treaty of 1817, to render it more effective.

In this convention, Her Majesty the Queen Regent again declared the Slave-trade to be thenceforward totally and finally abolished by Spain in all parts of the world. Her Majesty also engaged, on behalf of her daughter, Donna Isabella the Second, to take the most effectual measures for preventing her subjects from being concerned, and her flag from being used, in carrying on in any way the trade in Slaves; and especially that she would promulgate throughout her dominions a penal law, inflicting a severe punishment on all those of her subjects who should, under any pretext, take any part whatever in the traffic.

But notwithstanding these solemn engagements, the Slave-trade was permitted to continue, and it was not until the 2d of March 1845, ten years after the above-named convention had been concluded, that the penal law in question was passed, though promised to be promulgated within two months after the ratifications of the said convention had been exchanged.

In relation to this penal law, the Committee would remark, that as it did not declare the Slave-trade piracy, it was very imperfectly calculated to accomplish the object for which it was enacted; and further, that it was rendered to a great extent inoperative, by the peculiar restrictions under which the local authorities were placed in prosecuting offenders, rendering conviction next to impossible.

It does not appear that any more effective measures have since been adopted, either by the Spanish Government or by the local authorities of Cuba, to put an end to the traffic in Slaves. It has, consequently, been continuously prosecuted for thirty-five years, in the face of these most solemn engagements on the part of Spain, to employ her utmost efforts for its suppression.

It is difficult to estimate with accuracy the number of Slaves who have been, under these circumstances, surreptitiously introduced into the island during this period. In the official correspondence on this subject, between the Spanish and the British Governments, it is stated that the local census returns shew a positive increase, up to 1843, of not less than 15,000 annually. But there is too good reason to believe that even this large number is only an approximation to the truth. The Earl of Aberdeen, writing to Mr. Bulwer on the 31st of December 1843, states authoritatively that the census of 1841, on which the foregoing estimate was based, is known to have been incorrect; and that it was believed the number of the Slave population was purposely concealed, for that, according to

the most intelligent inhabitants of the island, it was not at that very time less than between 800,000 and 900,000; though in 1821 the number of slaves in Cuba was estimated at only 265,000. Now as their natural increase is known to be extremely small, the evidence appears conclusive, that within a period of twenty years—namely, from 1821 to 1841—the Slave population had been nearly quadrupled by illegal importations from Africa.

The Committee have every reason to believe, that since 1841, the average annual importations of Slaves have not diminished, except perhaps during the brief period that General Valdez governed Cuba. Even the annual reports of Her Majesty's Consuls at Havanna—though, for obvious reasons, they must furnish a most imperfect approximation to the number of slaves really landed during any given period—shew an addition to the Slave population, wholly supplied by the foreign traffic, of not less than 10,000 annually. But from other sources of information which the Committee possess, and on which they can place at least equal reliance, they believe they may safely express it as their opinion, that since 1841, to the close of 1853, at least from 12,000 to 15,000 slaves have been annually imported, making a gross addition to the Slave population of not less than 150,000 within that period.

The Committee would observe, that there is scarcely a fact with which they have been so much struck, and which has filled them with so much discouragement, as the startling discrepancies they have found to exist in the official censuses of the Slave population, as compared with the estimate of it derived from other official as well as independent sources.

They would instance the census of 1850, as given authoritatively by General Concha, in his work published at Madrid in 1853, entitled, *Memorias sobre el Estado Político de la Isla de Cuba por el teniente General D. José de la Concha*.

In this work, the total number of slaves in the three departments into which Cuba is divided, is set down as having been, in 1850, only 322,519. In the Earl of Aberdeen's despatch to Mr. Bulwer, already referred to, the return of Slaves, according to the census of 1841, is given at 496,495; although his lordship affirms, upon authority, that this number was notoriously believed to be only a few thousands above half of the actual Slave population.

The impression which cannot fail to be produced on impartial minds, by facts such as these, is, that systematic deception in relation to the Slave-trade to Cuba is practised to an unlimited extent, with perfect impunity; and the inevitable conclusion follows, that some powerful motive must exist for concealing the actual state of things there.

It is extremely painful to the Committee, to have to refer to the flagrant violation by Spain, of the treaties and obligations she is under to the British Government for the suppression of the Slave-trade. The efforts of Her Britannic Majesty's Ministers for Foreign Affairs have, since the conclusion of those treaties, been unremittingly directed to induce the Spanish Government to fulfil its engagements. Those efforts

have been practically unavailing, and their failure has led to a general conviction in this country, that the Spanish Government has never been sincerely desirous of putting a stop to the traffic in Slaves; and little hope is entertained that reason or justice will prevail with that Government to abolish it. The Committee would add, that this conviction has been greatly strengthened by the refusal of the Cabinet of Madrid, even quite recently, to treat the Slave-trade as piracy, though this moderate request has been frequently pressed upon it by Her Majesty's representative at the Court of Spain; and though, it may be further observed, the Brazilian Government—which was bound to Great Britain by similar obligations—passed a law to that effect in 1850.

The Committee are aware that the Ministers of the Spanish Crown have, at various times, made reiterated promises that the treaties with Great Britain should be fulfilled, and have also repeatedly intimated that strict orders have been sent to the various Captains-General of Cuba to take the most effectual measures for the suppression of the Slave-trade. The Committee are also aware that these high functionaries have all manifested an ostensible animosity to the Slave-trade, by issuing decrees more or less condemning it, and expressing their intention of suppressing it. Notorious as these facts are, however, it is not less so, that all these functionaries, without exception, have been directly privy to the prosecution of the Slave-trade; that up to the year 1843, the Captain-General of Cuba received a fee of at least half a doubloon for every Slave introduced into the island; but that, from the arrival of General O'Donnell, in 1843, the fee was raised to three doubloons, at which it has remained to the present time.

To this conduct on the part of the Captains-General, the Committee would wish to believe there have been honourable exceptions. The evidence in their possession, however, does not permit them to entertain a doubt that those officers have all unhappily yielded to the system of bribery and corruption employed by the Slave-traders of Cuba, to secure the connivance of the authorities in the prosecution of the traffic in Slaves; and that there is scarcely a subordinate officer of the local Government who does not receive hush-money, as the price of his co-operation in the same unlawful object. Public rumour in the island goes so far as to specify the sum which each has realized, and to point to certain individuals as the acknowledged agents of the Captains-General, through whom they have received bribes from the Slave-traders. Nor has it hesitated to mention, by name, a royal personage of Spain, as being deeply interested in the maintenance of the Slave-trade, and as deriving large gains from this source. Supported as these rumours are by evidence of unquestionable authority, the Committee cannot refuse to give credence to them, and to receive them as facts, tending to demonstrate that very little dependence is to be placed in the professed intentions of any Captain-General whomsoever to suppress the traffic, so long as the shameful system of corruption adverted to is permitted to exist.

The Committee cannot accept as a substantial

reason for the continuance of the Slave-trade, that were stringent measures taken for its abolition, discontent would be excited among the Cuban planters; as has been recently alleged by the Spanish Government, in its reply to the note addressed to it by Lord Howden, asking that Slave-trading might be treated as piracy. It is well known that the Cuban Slave-trade is carried on by a very small number of individuals, and that a large majority of the Cuban planters desire its extinction. The principal planters and merchants in the island have, at various times, addressed petitions to the Captains-General, praying that the traffic in Slaves might be put down, and even suggesting plans for the abolition of Slavery itself. The most distinguished and influential of the native Cubans are likewise known to be resolutely opposed to the continuance of the Slave-trade. This is proved by the correspondence of Her Britannic Majesty's Consul-General in Havanna, with the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, especially in the years 1841 and 1844. It is there shewn that the Captain-General, Don Valdez, took measures to ascertain the general feeling in regard to the suppression of the traffic, and that all the Cubans whose opinion was asked, unhesitatingly condemned it. The reports and memorials addressed to General Valdez on that occasion were laid before the British Parliament in the Slave-trade papers for 1841. In those for 1844, the Committee find the translation of another memorial to the same effect, addressed to General O'Donnell, who, however, appears to have taken measures for the prevention of its presentation to him. Yet more recently the Committee have had the opportunity of deriving information on this same subject from some of the most influential persons in Cuba, planters, merchants, and others, whose unanimous evidence is substantially to the effect, that the Cubans sincerely desire to see the Slave-trade at once abolished.

The Committee have, however, observed with deep pain, that any expression of opinion on this subject, is not only received with disfavour by the personages highest in authority in the island, but that such an expression of opinion is regarded as a criminal offence, which is visited with the severest penalties; and many instances might be quoted of persons who have been imprisoned and banished for merely decrying the Slave-trade. Under these circumstances, it is not possible for public opinion in Cuba to make itself heard, and for it to exercise that wholesome influence which in other countries has been found so potent in effecting the removal of admitted social and political evils.

On the other hand, and for the reasons which have been given, very little dependence is to be placed on the statements of the Spanish officials in Cuba as to the state of the public sentiment generally, in relation either to the Slave-trade or to the question of Slavery. But the Committee are left in no doubt as to the party in whose hands the real power resides of abolishing the Slave-trade. It appears to them, that what the Brazilian Government has done in this respect, could be likewise accomplished by the Captain-General of Cuba.

Your Highness cannot be ignorant of the fact,



that if this officer were resolved to put an end to Slave-trading, his powers are so extensive, that he could do so summarily. In the case of Brazil, where the system of corruption was as great as it is now in Cuba, the Slave-trade flourished, in spite of cruisers and Mixed-Commission Courts, so long as the local Government connived at the traffic; but the authorities no sooner manifested a determination to put it down, by adopting stringent measures to accomplish that object, than it at once diminished in extent, and, within less than two years, has been entirely suppressed.

The Committee are therefore justified in coming to the conclusion, that for the accomplishment of a similar object in Cuba, nothing more is wanted than an equally determined resolution to effect it on the part of the Captain-General.

The Committee are prepared to hear it asserted that the officer who now fills that important position, possesses the confidence of the Spanish Government, and has received express orders to suppress the Slave-trade. They do not, however, entertain any very sanguine hope that General Concha will depart from the line of conduct he pursued during his former term of office. It is well known that he favoured the departure of expeditions to the coast of Africa, and the landing at Cardenas and Matanzas—amongst other places—of cargoes of slaves belonging to parties whose names are in the possession of the Committee. For this it is alleged that considerable sums of money were secretly paid over to his agent in Cuba. Further, General Concha's work, already referred to, does not encourage the Committee to believe that his sentiments are any more inimical to the Slave-trade, than they are to Slavery as a domestic institution.

The Committee would, in the next place, respectfully request your Highness's attention to another subject immediately connected with the illegal importations of Negroes. The Committee refer to the Emancipados.

The Committee presume your Highness is aware, that, under the treaties of 1817 and 1835, such Negroes as might be captured by the English cruisers, and by the subaltern authorities of the island of Cuba, being declared Emancipados by the Mixed-Commission Court at Havanna, were to be entitled to their freedom, after serving a term of five years' apprenticeship, under such masters as the Court might assign them to.

In this instance, again, the Committee regret to find that the obligations contracted under the above-mentioned treaties have been flagrantly violated. The reports of Her Britannic Majesty's Consuls at Havanna, disclose a system of fraud and deception practised in relation to these Emancipados, which is without parallel. It has been shown that their condition is worse than that of the Slaves; that on the termination of their period of apprenticeship, they are frequently sold—under the specious pretext of a re-assignment for various terms—for sums bearing a proportion thereto, namely, from a hundred and fifty dollars and upwards each. But these abuses have not ended here. In numberless instances, the Emancipados have been removed to the mines, and to the plantations of the interior, where they have soon been reduced to the condi-

tion of the Slaves; with this difference: that whereas the latter have at least the ostensible protection of the law, the former are wholly at the mercy of their masters, and practically beyond the reach even of the Government, for all purposes of protection. It is notorious that the practice is to supply the place of dead negroes on plantations, by living Emancipados, and that it is carried on with impunity to an almost unlimited extent. It is also well-known, that the best and strongest of them are set to labour on the public works; and that on the public road from Havanna to Guanagay there were, in the year 1846, no less than 200 Emancipados employed, for the use of each of whom twenty-five dollars a month were exacted. In the military secretariat, there were two officials, both still resident in Havanna, who were employed as agents for the sale of the Emancipados. The produce of these various sales amounted, in the year 1846 alone, to the enormous sum of 876,436 dollars.

For many years the Spanish Government disregarded the representations addressed to it on this subject, by Her Britannic Majesty's Ministers; and it was not until the 16th of March 1853, that the Spanish Government consented to the settlement of a question which had so long been a matter of painful discussion and dispute. It was then decreed that the Emancipados in Cuba, proceeding from the treaty of 1817, should all receive their freedom before the expiration of the year 1853, with permission to remain in the island, if it suited them; unless there should be some grave reason to the contrary. The Emancipados proceeding from the Treaty of 1835, were also to obtain their liberty at the same time, if they had completed their five years' *consignacion* or apprenticeship.

In view of the facts that have been adduced in relation to the treatment of the Emancipados, it appears to the Committee that very little dependence can be placed upon any official statement of the number who may be entitled to the benefit of the above decree. It is more than probable that the majority of those of the class 1817 are either dead, or have been long since merged into the bulk of the Slave population. With respect, therefore, to such of this class as may remain, the decree is practically useless. The Committee apprehend that the same rule will be found to apply to the class 1835, though perhaps in a lesser degree.

The terms of the decree are to the effect, that they "will obtain their liberty if they have completed their five years' apprenticeship." It is obvious that the number who, at the close of 1853, had not then completed their term of five years, must have been extremely small, in comparison with the number of the same class whose term had expired at the close of 1848, which would embrace all the Bozals captured by the subaltern authorities of the island since 1835, and assigned as apprentices by order of the Mixed-Commission Court.

The Committee submit that there ought to be very little difficulty in ascertaining, by an inspection of the records of that Court, how many negroes have been assigned under its authority, from the year 1835 up to the end of 1848; from the beginning of 1849 to the end of 1853; and from the beginning of 1854 down to the latest

period at which any assignments have taken place.

It would appear that a statement of this kind was transmitted in February 1854, by the Captain-General of Havanna, to the Spanish Government. According to that statement, the number of Bozals captured by English cruisers, is set down at 8764; and those captured by the subaltern authorities of the island at 2479: making a general total of 11,243.

These are accounted for in the following manner:

Given up to England, (being out of those captures made by her cruisers,) as soon as they were declared emancipated by the mixed tribunal, and conveyed to the island of Trinidad, 978.

Liberated up to the close of December 1840, One Hundred and forty-seven.

Liberated up to the 30th of November 1853, 2063. (Of these, 600, with 124 children, were given up to the English functionaries in Havanna between the 30th of September 1844 and the 18th of June 1852, and were conveyed to Jamaica.)

Dead, run away, maroons in rebellion (*cimarrones apalencados*) lunatic, and inmates of almshouses, 5957.

The above give a total of 9145, leaving 2098, who are accounted for as being liberated, but at that date hired out as labourers, because they wished to remain in the island.

The Committee would remark, in the first place, upon the extremely small number of negroes captured by the authorities of the island, as a striking illustration of their remissness in taking measures to prevent the introduction of slaves; for it must be borne in mind, that since the treaty of 1835 came into operation, not fewer than 12,000 negroes have been introduced into Cuba every year, with the direct connivance of those very authorities.

In the second place, the Committee have not failed to notice the great disproportion between 147—the number stated to have been liberated up to the close of December 1840—and 2063—the number stated to have been liberated from the beginning of 1841 to the 30th of November 1853. Abstraction made of the 978 captured by English cruisers, and therefore of right delivered over to the British authorities, the idea cannot for one moment be entertained, that at the close of December 1840, no more than 147 Emancipados, out of the classes 1817 and 1835, had become entitled to their liberty. The obvious inference is, that the great bulk of the negroes captured by the authorities from 1820, when the treaty of 1817 came into operation, to the close of 1835, had been disposed of surreptitiously, and that all traces of them have been lost.

Thirdly, and in relation to the 2063 liberated from the beginning of 1841 to the 30th of November 1853, the Committee cannot refrain from expressing their strong conviction, that the accuracy of this statement is open to very grave doubt. It is set forth in the official despatches of the Government officers, British and Spanish, that during his term of office—1841 to 1843—General Valdez gave liberty to at least 1400 Emancipados. The whole of these must have appertained to that section whose five years' term had then expired; that is to say, whose assignment had taken place

in 1835—1838. If, therefore, the above statement is to be accepted as correct, the Committee are left to believe, that from the beginning of 1835 to the 30th of November 1853, no more than 663 Emancipados had become entitled to their liberty; a conclusion which the facts they have been able to gather do not justify them in adopting.

In the fourth place, the Committee have been struck with the very large number, namely 5957, reported as dead, run away, maroons in rebellion, lunatics, and inmates of almshouses. It would have been more satisfactory had the number of each been specified under distinct heads. Indeed, the Committee are in possession of information which leads them seriously to call in question the accuracy of the statement which has been made, respecting the number of Emancipados accounted for under the last head.

With reference, lastly, to the 2098 alleged to have been liberated, but to have been hired out in conformity with the ordinance published on the 1st of January 1854, the facts enumerated above, leave the Committee in no doubt that the number is considerably understated. Those who would be entitled to their liberty under that ordinance, would have commenced their term of apprenticeship on the 1st of January 1849. But granting the above number to be correct, no account whatever is taken of those negroes who may have been captured by the authorities during the five years 1849 to 1853 inclusively, and which must have been considerable, if the Committee are to believe that the Captains-General of Cuba, during this period, were as zealous in effecting the capture of illegally-introduced negroes, and as active in taking other measures for the suppression of the Slave-trade, as the Spanish Government has represented.

The third subject on which the Committee would venture to submit to your Highness a few observations, is that of the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba; a subject which they approach with a full sense of its magnitude, and of the important considerations which it involves.

It may be proper to mention here, that one of the fundamental principles of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* is, "That so long as Slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the Slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings." But the Committee also believe it to be the solemn duty of all Christian men to plead the cause of the Slave, and to submit to the consideration of those in authority, the utter incompatibility of Slavery with the precepts and practice of the Christian religion.

In this spirit the Committee would address your Highness on this momentous subject, and would respectfully but earnestly solicit your serious attention to the observations they propose to make.

It is not denied that the Slave-trade to Cuba has been carried on in open violation of the most solemn treaties entered into with Great Britain, nor that Great Britain has a right to demand, at the hands of Spain, the fulfilment of those treaties, whatever the consequences may be to the latter power. It has been estimated that the largest proportion of the Slave popu-



lation of Cuba has been introduced in contravention of these national obligations; wherefore, on these grounds alone, the Committee submit to your Highness, that the mass of the Slaves in Cuba have an absolute right to immediate and unconditional emancipation. This is the view that has been taken by both Houses of the British Parliament; by British statesmen of every shade of political opinion; by the leading philanthropists of the day, and by the British public. This sentiment manifests itself whenever the subject is mooted; in proof of which the Committee would call your Highness's attention to the following resolution, unanimously adopted at an Anti-slavery Conference held in London on the 29th and 30th of November last, and which was attended by delegates from different parts of the United Kingdom, as well as from other countries:

"This Conference deeply laments, that notwithstanding the most solemn treaties entered into by Spain with this country in 1817, and at various periods since, and her actual acceptance of 400,000*l.* from the people of England as a compensation to her for the abolition of the Slave-trade, the traffic has been continued under every successive Government since those treaties were concluded, and to such an enormous extent, that a very large proportion of the Slaves now in Cuba have been introduced in violation of these compacts: this Conference therefore recommends the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* to convey to the Spanish Government, now in process of formation, its abhorrence of the moral and political dishonour which such a course has entailed, and again to urge the imperative obligation of liberating all negroes who have been thus imported, and their descendants; and at the same time to represent, in the strongest terms, the Christian duty, as well as the wise policy, of immediately abolishing Slavery throughout the colonies of Spain.

"The Conference would also recommend the Committee to embrace the earliest suitable opening for having the attention of our own legislature again directed to this flagrant dereliction of duty, and shameless violation of treaties on the part of that country."

But the present position of Cuba with regard to the United States of America, is also an element in this question, which has engaged the serious attention of the Committee. It would be out of place for them to offer any opinion upon the various and complicated political questions which have for so many years agitated Cuba, and raised a strong spirit of disaffection on the part of the native Cubans towards the Spanish Government. Your Highness cannot but be aware of the serious extent to which this sentiment of animosity has manifested itself, nor of the consequences to which it threatens to lead. It is well known that there is a considerable party in Cuba, eager to take advantage of the first favourable opportunity to throw off the yoke of Spain, and, following the example of the Colonies which that power once possessed in South America, like them declare herself independent. It is not less notorious that they have found sympathisers and numerous partisans in the United States of America, who, looking to the means of consolidating the interests of the South,

would willingly promote an attempt, which, though it might not secure the independence of Cuba, might lead to its annexation as a State of the American Union. It is true, that, at present, political considerations have their influence in determining the policy of the Federal Government in relation to the question of Cuban annexation by such means. Hitherto it has abstained from giving any actual countenance to the expeditions, which, under persons selected for this purpose by the Cubans, have been fitted out in the United States, for the avowed object of aiding insurrection in the island. It has even ostensibly discouraged them. It is, however, an admitted fact, and one known to the leading statesmen of Europe, that some of the most influential politicians attached to the Southern party, many of them immediately connected with the Government, and others, aspirants to office, have expressed it as their decided opinion, that the acquisition of Cuba by the Federal Government, either by purchase or by conquest, is an object most desirable of attainment. They have gone so far as to advance it as one of the prominent objects to be realized in the policy of the future. Steps in this direction have even been taken by the Federal Government itself. So far back as 1848, Mr. Buchanan authorised Mr. Saunders to offer to the Spanish Government the sum of 100,000,000 dollars as the maximum price which the President of the United States was then willing to pay for the cession of the island. On that occasion, full powers to treat for its purchase were transmitted to Mr. Buchanan, who was further instructed to adopt, as a model for the treaty to be entered into, the two conventions of the 30th April 1803, between France and the United States, for the sale and purchase of Louisiana. Similar overtures have been since made, up to quite a recent period; and on every possible occasion, the Federal Government, to strengthen its pretensions, has sought to procure the admission of the doctrine, that the United States have an interest in Cuba to which Great Britain and France cannot pretend. The value of the island to the United States has been set forth in the strongest terms, at various times, but especially in the important correspondence, extending over a series of upwards of thirty years, which has taken place between the United States, Spain, France, and Great Britain, concerning the alleged projects of conquest and annexation of the island.

Another significant fact, to which the Committee would take leave to advert, and of which your Highness is probably aware, is the recent absolute refusal of the Federal Government to unite with France and Great Britain in a tripartite arrangement—whether by convention or the interchange of formal notes—by which it was proposed they should bind themselves severally and collectively to renounce, both now and hereafter, all intention to obtain possession of the Island of Cuba, and to discountenance all attempts to that effect on the part of others. It is therefore clear that its acquisition enters into the latent policy of the Federal Government; and no one can foresee how soon circumstances arising out of the disturbed political condition of Spain herself, and the peculiar state of affairs in the island of Cuba, may combine to present what may appear to



that Government a favourable opportunity for a sudden and vigorous development of its policy.

If the ultimate settlement of this question involved only political consequences, the Committee would not feel themselves justified in dwelling upon it in this document. Such, however, is not the case. The interests of the Slave population are deeply involved in it, and therefore the Committee may be permitted to submit in this place a few considerations which, in their view, are of special importance.

The following are the chief contingencies which the Committee consider may arise:

*First.*—An unsuccessful insurrection on the part of the Cubans.

If suppressed by the military power alone, the question of the Slave-trade and Slavery would probably remain in its present position: if, with the aid of such portions of the Slave population as the Government might arm in its defence, either a servile war would probably ensue, or a bitterness of spirit between the races be certainly engendered, which sooner or later must lead to the most disastrous consequences.

*Secondly.*—A successful revolt, followed by a declaration of the independence of Cuba, and its annexation as a State of the Union, by the Cubans themselves, for the sake of the guarantees of political security, which annexation would ensure to them.

This contingency appears to the Committee to involve considerable uncertainty in respect to the fate of the Slave population, but none as regards the extinction of the Slave-trade; and in the prospect of the attainment of so desirable an object as the latter, the Committee have not failed to remark, that there is a prevalent disposition in the minds of eminent statesmen in this country, to anticipate such a consummation with positive favour.

As regards the question of Slavery, the fact is set forth in the official documents which have been laid before the British Parliament, and in numerous works, published from time to time—extending over a series of years—and it is substantiated by the statements of the most distinguished native Cubans, that there exists in the island a very considerable party who desire the abolition of that institution, though opinions are divided as to the means to be employed for that purpose, and whether it shall be immediate or gradual.

The Spanish laws, it is known, greatly favour Emancipation. Notwithstanding some drawbacks, they have had the effect of not creating many of the obstacles which exist in the United States, preventing the ready social fusion of the coloured with the white population, and effectually debarring the former from the privileges of citizenship. If in Cuba the Slave is practically unprotected by the laws, it is not so much on account of any inherent defect in them, as of the corrupt influences employed to render them inoperative to a considerable extent. The one redeeming feature in the Spanish Slave-law, namely, that a man, though a slave, still has certain recognised rights as a man, stands out in striking contrast with the Slave-laws of the United States, which constitute a man reduced to the condition of a slave—a mere chattel. This important distinction, whilst affording material

facilities for Emancipation in Cuba, is so radically at variance with the principles of the American Slave-code, that it would probably seriously impede the organization of Cuba, as a State of the American Union, unless a means should be found of reconciling the two conflicting principles. But it is to be feared that the native partisans, simply for the independence of Cuba and its annexation to the United States, are more numerous, more united, and consequently greatly stronger than are those who, entertaining the same views, are also in favour of the abolition of Slavery immediate or conditional. If, however, these two sections were to come to a common understanding—as is not unlikely—and declare it to be their intention, simultaneously with the assumption of Cuban independence, to decree the Abolition of Slavery, either immediately or within a given term, there is every probability that their attempt would receive the sympathy and the moral support of the friends of humanity throughout the world.

On the other hand, it is to be apprehended, that for the sake of their readier admission into the American Union, and of ensuring the advantages they would derive from annexation, the Cubans might sacrifice the interests of the Slave population, leaving the question of Abolition to be settled at some future and perhaps indefinite period. For the foregoing reasons, therefore, and apart from all other considerations, the Committee cannot regard this second contingency without considerable apprehension.

In view of the evils which may befall the Slave population in the event of either of the above-mentioned contingencies taking place, the Committee venture to suggest a means by which, in their judgment, those evils may be averted: means at once consistent with the requirements of humanity, and in accordance with the spirit of those treaties, for the fulfilment of which the honour of Spain is solemnly pledged.

It is admitted that the value of Cuba to the United States is greatly enhanced by the fact of the island's having a large slave population. Mr. Forsyth, the United States' Minister at Madrid, writing to his Government so far back as the 20th of November 1822, dwells upon the circumstance, that the slave population of Cuba would make the Federal Government anxious to keep the island out of the hands of Powers which would be compelled, by their institutions, to make changes in it extremely dangerous to the repose and prosperity of the Southern States.

Again, in October 1829, Mr. Van Buren writing from Washington to Mr. Van Ness, the United States Minister at Madrid, emphatically asserts, that considerations connected with a certain class of the United-States population made it the interest of the Southern section of the Union, that no attempt should be made in the Island of Cuba to throw off the yoke of Spanish dependence, the first effect of which would be the sudden emancipation of a numerous slave population, the result of which could not but be very sensibly felt upon the adjacent shores of the United States.

In like manner, Mr. Webster, writing to Mr. Campbell at the Havanna, from Washington, in January 1843, and ascribing to the British

Ministry and the Abolitionists of Great Britain, a scheme for the general emancipation of the Cuban Slaves, states, with evident dismay, that with 600,000 blacks in Cuba, and with 800,000 in her West-India Islands, Great Britain could strike a death blow to Slavery in the United States.

These reasons obtain at the present moment, with undiminished force, and it is therefore manifest, that if the coloured population of Cuba were freed, the chief incentive which the Federal Government has in seeking the acquisition of the island would be removed.

The Committee cannot refrain from expressing it as their belief, that the danger which it is said is to be apprehended from the sudden liberation of the Slaves, has not only been greatly exaggerated, but has, in fact, no reasonable foundation. It is alleged, that were immediate emancipation declared, a horde of half-savage negroes would be let loose upon the island, who would speedily overrun it, devastating and pillaging the plantations, and massacring the inhabitants. This erroneous idea has long been sedulously and systematically fostered by the local authorities, under the prompting, as it would appear, of the Home Government. Mr. Van Ness, the American Minister at Madrid, writing to Mr. Forsyth so far back as the 10th of December 1836, informs him, that Senor Calatrava, then Minister in Spain, had repeatedly stated, that in Cuba the fear of the negroes was worth an army of a hundred thousand men, and that it would prevent the whites from making any revolutionary attempts. The feeling of dread engendered under such auspices was subsequently increased by the partial insurrections which took place a few years ago, on two or three estates; although it is asserted that the local authorities were privy to their origin. This fear, however, has diminished since the object of the Spanish Government in fostering it, has become apparent to the native Cubans; but it yet exists to an extent sufficient to inspire a large majority of the latter, who are in favour of abolition, with a reluctance to advocate so radical a measure as immediate emancipation.

But the one fact which appears to the Committee to be conclusive against the existence of any substantial foundation for the alleged danger, is, that under the stipulations of existing treaties, especially in relation to the Emancipados, the Spanish Government has itself admitted the principle, that five years are sufficient to prepare newly-imported negroes to receive their freedom. Assuming, therefore, that the whole of the present Slave population of Cuba has been imported within the last twelve months, the Spanish Government stands clearly committed to the safety of the policy of emancipation within a period of five years, which is virtually acknowledging the safety of making it immediate.

With regard to the so-called property interests of the Slaveholders, which are put forward as a formidable bar to the introduction of any measure for the abolition of Slavery, the Committee cannot consent to do more than consider them here for the sake of argument. Any so-called right of property in the persons of those Africans who have been introduced since the treaty of 1817 came into operation, and in their descendants, has obviously been acquired

in violation of that treaty, and of the subsequent Convention. If, therefore, through the guilty connivance of the local authorities, sustained and encouraged by the not less culpable laxity of the Home Government, the Cuban Slaveholders have been permitted fraudulently to become possessed of slaves, and that these now form the bulk of the Slave population, it is for the Spanish Government to settle the basis on which emancipation is to be declared. On this point the Committee do not feel themselves called upon to offer any suggestion. They have already laid stress upon the fact, that the bulk of the present Slave population of Cuba, having been surreptitiously introduced into the island, has, under the treaties adverted to, an indisputable right to immediate and unconditional freedom. Wherefore, in calling upon the Spanish Government to declare emancipation in Cuba, the Committee feel that they are simply asking Spain to fulfil the treaties of 1817 and 1835—its obligations under which have never been denied though they have been so shamefully evaded—and that they are but reiterating, in their capacity as the exponents of the Anti-slavery sentiment of Great Britain, the demand which has been so repeatedly made upon Spain through official channels.

In renewing this demand, the Committee feel they are greatly strengthened by the results which have attended Emancipation in the British Colonies. In them, labour has not been wanting, whenever the planters have manifested a willingness to pay a fair remuneration for it, and to deal justly by the labourer. There is abundant and conclusive evidence—official and non-official—to shew, that so far as regards the labouring classes, the results of Emancipation have been, on the whole, truly gratifying and satisfactory, and of a nature to justify every reasonable expectation: that many of the social evils which still exist amongst them, are to be ascribed to the pernicious influences of Slavery, under which they originated; and that with regard to the difficulties and commercial embarrassments alleged to have been caused by the measure of Abolition, they had their chief origin in causes altogether irrespective of that measure, many of them having been productive of similar distresses, for a period of more than half a century previous to the abolition of Slavery. In the opinion of the Committee, there is, in the increasing productiveness of some of the Sugar Colonies, and in the present condition of their labouring population, much to encourage and to stimulate the friends of freedom throughout the world, to use increased exertions to influence those Governments which still tolerate Slavery, to abolish that demoralizing institution without delay.

In the French Colonies, results not less encouraging have been obtained, although the measure of Abolition has been only a brief period in operation there, and its success has been impeded by retrogressive legislation. But the Committee would especially call your Highness' attention to the manner in which it was accomplished, and in which it was received by the negro population, as an additional illustration of the perfect safety of immediate Emancipation.

Finally, in vindication of international justice, for the sake of our common humanity, but above



all, and especially in the interests and for the honour of the Christian religion, the Committee would earnestly beseech your Highness to employ the influence of your elevated station, to secure the immediate fulfilment of the solemn obligations Spain has entered into with Great Britain. By putting an end to the Slave-trade to Cuba, your Highness will remove from Spain the odium of being now the only nation that is openly engaged in the prosecution of this inhuman traffic; whilst, by abolishing Slavery itself in the Spanish colonies, your Highness will not only do an act of justice, and perform a Christian duty, but establish a permanent claim to the gratitude of generations yet unborn.

We beg to subscribe ourselves,

HIGHNESS,

Your's very respectfully,

On behalf of the Committee,

JOSEPH COOPER,

ROBERT ALSOP,

THOMAS BINNS.

LOUIS ALEXIS CHAMEROVZOW,

*Secretary.*

LONDON,

27 NEW BROAD STREET,  
2d March 1855.

#### SPAIN, CUBA, AND THE UNITED STATES.

OUR readers will probably have learnt through the ordinary channels of intelligence, that a formidable conspiracy has been recently discovered in Cuba. The details have not yet appeared, but from our American and other files, we gather that the Captain-General of Cuba, (General Concha,) had received information that "a filibuster party" had left, or was about to leave the United States for Cuba, and that several wealthy and influential Creoles were privy to the plot, the object of which was to overthrow the present Government of the island. It is also stated that it was intended to commence the insurrection by assassinating General Concha at the theatre, then to extinguish the gas in the public places of Havana, and to follow up these acts by others of an equally desperate character. We do not know how far these statements are to be relied upon, but the existence of a widely-organized conspiracy against the Spanish rule, and in which some of the wealthiest, most respectable, and most conservative of the inhabitants throughout Cuba, were implicated, has certainly been discovered. A Spaniard named Pinto, a well-known reformer, General Concha's Secretary, and two Americans, with many Creoles, have been arrested; and numerous persons, whose presence was considered dangerous, have been ordered to quit the island; some within twenty-four, others within forty-eight hours. It was known that aid was expected from the United States, and the Captain-

General had despatched troops to those parts of the island where the disembarkation of the American partisans was expected to take place, the number of whom was stated to amount to from 2000 to 3000. The insurrectionary party appeared to have been abundantly provided with arms and ammunition, including artillery; but General Concha had—according to the latest accounts received *vid* Madrid—succeeded in putting down the plot, and in restoring tranquillity.

The *Times* Correspondent, writing from that city, under date of the 8th of March, makes the following statement. We call the attention of our readers to the passage we have italicised:

"The Government has received confidential communications from General Concha with respect to the state of the island of Cuba, which is evidently such as to inspire the Captain-General with considerable uneasiness, although he confidently trusts to surmount all difficulties, especially if the Ministers and the Cortés attend to his suggestions with respect to the line of colonial policy to be observed. He considers the relative position of Spain and Cuba to be very similar to that of England and Canada in 1837, and wishes the example of England to be followed, and concessions to be made to the colony. Cuba, in his opinion, should send deputies to the Cortes. *Care should be taken not to alarm the slaveowners by talk of emancipation. Such a measure would inevitably throw the island into the arms of the United States. To declare the slave-trade piracy would also be a most dangerous step,* but General Concha is using his very utmost exertions, and will continue to do so, to prevent the traffic. The island is evidently not to be governed as it has been hitherto; and a garrison of 20,000 men will be found all insufficient to preserve it to Spain, if the inhabitants be not conciliated by liberal legislation. Cuba has greatly changed within the last few years, and there can be little doubt that General Concha begins to note a wide difference in the state of the public mind now, and during his former residence there as Captain-General. The late conspiracy was very extensive, and dissatisfaction is wide-spread."

On the same day, the following incident took place in the Cortés. General Serrano abruptly interrupted the debate on the establishment of two Chambers, under the new Constitution, by addressing a question to the Government, concerning the conspiracy in Cuba. In the midst of a profound silence, Senor Luzuriaga gave the House such information as he felt at liberty to impart; the substance of which we have set forth above. He said, however, that the excitement had originated in the United States, and thereupon, with an energy of manner which produced a deep impression upon the Assembly, he stated that all the conspirators who had been arrested are known partisans for the maintenance of Slavery. He proceeded then, on behalf of the Cabinet, to say, in relation to the question of Slavery, "that



without infringing upon the established rights of property, but with the intention of making compensation by a fair indemnity, the Spanish Government was determined to have done with a barbarous institution, which is a bane to society and a shame to humanity, and which every civilized nation had justly condemned." He added that the treaties with respect to the slave-trade should be strictly observed, for the Government well knew that the greatest part of the difficulty relating to Cuba arose from that subject.

Time will shortly demonstrate what degree of confidence is to be placed in this hopeful announcement of the intentions of the Spanish Ministry. It is, it cannot fail to be remarked, strangely at variance with the sentiments attributed to Concha, in the letter of the *Times* Correspondent above quoted, and which are identical with those he has expressed in his *Notes on the Political Condition of the Island of Cuba*, to which we have referred on previous occasions. There is, however, no doubt that in Spain the question of the Abolition of Slavery is growing in importance as a public question, and does not want advocates in the Cortés. Only a few days before the Spanish Minister made the preceding announcement, Senor Orense, one of the ultra-liberal party, boldly recorded a notice of motion conveying a demand for the "immediate Abolition of Slavery in the Spanish possessions; which motion will of course, in due time, raise an interesting discussion. We hope to be able to give, in our next, the precise form and date of this motion, with other particulars relating thereto.

In another column will be found the copy of an address to Espartéro, on Cuban Slavery and the Slave-trade, from the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. We would direct the readers' attention to that portion of the document which bears upon the political aspects of this great question, and beg them to compare it with the opinions respecting the necessity of conceding liberal institutions to the Cubans, attributed by the *Times* Correspondent to General Concha. We have no doubt that the Captain-General has taken a correct view of the case, and his suggestions on this point go to prove that, notwithstanding all that is said about fillbustering expeditions from the United States, he sees that the real danger is nearer home; that, in fact, it proceeds from within, not without, and that it must be met there. No doubt the Southern party, actuated by an intense desire to consolidate the institution of Slavery, and to extend its area, loses no opportunity of fomenting discontent in Cuba; and though the Federal Government itself may not openly countenance the organization of armed expeditions, whose destination and object are no secret, it appears not to admit of a doubt that it adopts no measures either

to prevent such irregular armaments, or to put the Cuban and the Spanish Governments on their guard against them, by timely warnings. But, on the other hand, no one can believe that without invitation and previous concert with some of the Cubans themselves, would such formidable combinations be set on foot in America to promote domestic insurrection in an island belonging to a friendly power. And this fact is doubtless known to General Concha and to his Government: hence his alleged anxiety to remove the cause of a disaffection which has existed now for many years, and to introduce a policy more in accordance with the liberal spirit of the age. Let public opinion have free vent in Cuba, and it will be found that the abolition of the slave-trade and of Slavery will be amongst the first questions that will be openly discussed, and, ere long, finally disposed of. It is the oppression of the Spanish Government that has created a spirit of discontent in Cuba, and fostered it until it has ripened into rebellion: which has induced the leaders of the intended revolution to seek the co-operation of their American neighbours: which has made them dream of independence, and, in despair of obtaining it, to sigh for annexation: which is constantly provoking them to new attempts to achieve one or other of these objects, notwithstanding past failures and future uncertainties. It is these facts we would have our readers bear in mind, as throwing light upon the origin of those expeditions to Cuba from the American continent, which have resulted so disastrously for those who were concerned in them. General Concha may, by timely concessions to the Cubans, even now avert a catastrophe; but it is to be apprehended that his real sympathies are in the opposite direction. The following is an illustration of this fact:

In 1817, (during his former term of office,) a report was circulated in Puerto Principe, that the Government intended to suppress the *Real Audiencia* of the district, and to establish a third *sala* in the *Pretorial* of Havana: the *Ayuntamiento* thereupon, through the Governor, its President, presented a respectful memorial to the Supreme Government, representing the injurious consequences of such a measure to the central city, and supplicating Her Majesty to decree the permanency of the *Real Audiencia* in Puerto Principe. But General Concha, indignant that the *Ayuntamiento* should dare to use the right of petition, declared emphatically that it possessed no such right, *except when required to exercise it by the chief Authority*; and he forthwith removed from office five of the Aldermen, and the Governor, General Don Cayetano Olloqui.

This is not an encouraging fact. Nor was the Government at Madrid at this time more

liberal in its treatment of persons who even then sought to warn it of danger, and to suggest the means of avoiding it. In that same year, one Don Andrés Arango, a resident at Madrid, placed in the hands of the Queen an humble Memorial, setting forth the calamities which threatened Cuba, the causes of the prevalent disaffection, and the political and social exigencies of Cuban society; also suggesting the introduction of certain measures calculated to meet the wishes of the Cubans, and to inspire them with loyalty to Spain. Not only did the Queen pay no attention to the Memorial, but, setting a bad example to her Ministers, treated Arango himself with marked discourtesy, the Minister, (Bravo Murillo,) even telling him that he was "an insurgent," like the rest of the Cubans.

In a like spirit were the representatives of Cuba treated, in 1837, when, after granting constitutional privileges to Cuba, including representation in the Cortés, the Spanish Government despoiled the Cubans of the very rights that had been conceded to them. On this occasion, the Cuban representatives, Juan Montalvo y Castillo, Antonio Saco, and Francisco de Armas, presented a respectful protest against the proposition of making Cuba a mere colony, to be governed by a despotic ruler. The result of their efforts on behalf of their constituents was, that notwithstanding they were the legitimate representatives of Cuba, they were denied their seats in the Cortés, and their country was again placed under arbitrary rule.

With such facts as these before us, and with no evidence that the spirit of the policy of Spain towards Cuba has changed, we may be permitted to doubt the sincerity of her professions, either in relation to the necessity for the introduction of a more liberal form of government, or for the abolition of the slave-trade and of Slavery.

#### JAMAICA.

WE resume our notice of the Blue Book, under this head, referred to in our last number. As we propose, on a future occasion, to give extracts from the reports of the Stipendary Magistrates addressed to Sir Henry Barkly, we shall confine ourselves in the present article to a summary of the Despatch from the Governor to the Duke of Newcastle, under date the 26th of May 1854. It appears, that at the close of the Legislative Session, Sir Henry Barkly visited the leeward part of the island, but owing to the late period of his departure, and the breaking up of the weather, was obliged to go and to return by the north side. Sir Henry states that he went over the whole of this ground some fifteen years ago, and was therefore better able to mark

the changes which had in the interval stolen over the face of the country, and the condition of its inhabitants. As we cannot follow Sir Henry from spot to spot, we will present only a summary of the impressions he derived from his tour.

These were, on the whole, he states, of a more encouraging nature than he had, from the gloomy accounts given by all parties, ventured to anticipate; and he certainly returned with a higher opinion of the capabilities of the island, and a more hopeful estimate of its social position, than he had when he started. We quote the following in relation to the cultivation of Sugar:

"The prospect of the cultivators of Sugar especially appear to me by no means of the desperate character which unfortunately it has become usual to ascribe to them. The worst effects of competition with the whole world, in the production of their staple, are now realized; and yet, speaking dispassionately, and with an earnest desire to represent things in their true light, so far as my information goes, I do not believe that any plantation in the island, which was at the beginning of the year in tolerable order, and on which no extraordinary outlay for repairs to works or extension of cane-field had to be incurred, will entail a loss on its proprietor. To go further, wherever the cultivation is on a sufficient scale to yield, say from 150 hogsheads upwards, I am confident the plantation will leave a handsome return, even when carried on by hired agency alone. This year, with the aid of an unnaturally high price for rum, many making less sugar are likely to do well; but, as a general rule, from all I have heard, crops under 100 hogsheads can scarcely yield a profit in the present state of Jamaica, unless their proprietors are not only resident, but competent from previous training to conduct the management in person.

Sir Henry sets down the proportion of plantations making 150 hogsheads of sugar and upwards, and those making under 100 hogsheads, at two-fifths and three-fifths respectively. He adds, that more than one half of the sugar estates in cultivation on the 31st of December 1852 still belong to absentees, notwithstanding the rapid transfer which is going on of the smaller estates to practical planters. He does not consider absenteeism a primary cause of West-India distress, but as an inevitable evil in tropical climates, whenever there is a sufficient margin of profit to support a proprietor as he would wish to live in the mother-country, and enable an attorney to make a fortune at the risk of his life. He anticipates, however, a diminution of the evil, attended by improvement in many other respects. For this, he observes, there is ample room, but he believes the Jamaica planters are as ready to adopt improved machinery, or better modes of manufacture, as their neighbours. He adds:

"A good deal of time was no doubt lost in all



the sugar colonies whilst they allowed themselves to be deluded with the hope of a restoration of protecting duties: nor can Jamaica claim credit for being the first to awaken from this dream, and set to work in earnest to compete with the slave-trade and Slavery by more scientific agriculture, and more skilful manufacturing process. But apart from the delusions of party strife at home, and the political disorders which were thereby unhappily fostered in the island, a valid reason has existed for the slower progress, in the fact of the reduced scale on which the manufacture of Sugar is in most instances here conducted, which is necessarily much less conducive to the introduction of expensive apparatus than where, as in Guiana, manufactories are on a larger basis."

Sir Henry seems to be impressed with the firm conviction that extensive immigration is required, in order to bring cultivation to such a point as will enable the island to re-establish its financial credit, and to keep up those establishments which are essential for the maintainance of order, and for the improvement of the condition of the people. He observes, that although cultivation has been reduced in most districts to the level of the supply of labour, there will be a tendency to increase it as confidence revives, and as fast as the supply of labour can be augmented. Hence the necessity for immigration. He is of opinion, that were there a complete abandonment of sugar estates, the cultivation of other staples would not compensate for the loss; because the same causes which, notwithstanding the fertility of the soil, and the enormous capital invested in buildings, machinery, roads, drainage, &c., render the production of Sugar unremunerative, would suffice to prevent the application of either labour or capital to any fresh species of cultivation. We cannot, perhaps, do better than conclude this article with the following closing remarks of the Despatch under review:

"I am not unconscious that immigration is attended with heavier drawbacks here than in other colonies, the smaller scale of cultivation necessitating greater subdivision among the immigrants, and less expensive preparations for their reception on estates: the lower rate of wages current—the absence of constant medical supervision; these, and other difficulties, on which I need not at present expatiate, beset every experiment, and afford all the stronger reasons why the planters, whilst seeking assistance from this source, should not neglect the welfare, or fail to conciliate the good feeling of the Creole population, on whom they must at the same time be mainly dependent for a supply of labour.

"Many planters, I am afraid, consider this hopeless, and anticipate that the Creoles will gradually withdraw altogether from the estates; raise a bare subsistence for themselves in their provision-grounds; and in the end give up the habits and pursuits of civilized life. I confess I could perceive few symptoms of any disposition of the sort in the course of my tour. That the

Negroes, as a body, are not conspicuous for industry, cannot be denied by their warmest friends; but I hardly think any other race of men would have devoted themselves to unnecessary corporal exertion, unless they had previously attained a far higher standard of civilization. And though they may often, through ignorance, have acted contrary to their true interests, and shewn themselves little fit to be trusted with the extensive political privileges to which they succeeded without any preparation at all in this island, they have, in my opinion, behaved, on the whole, better than could have been reasonably expected; and I see very little ground for alleging that they have actually retrograded.

"The real truth is, that of late years injustice has been done to the character of the Negroes, in consequence of the disappointment resulting from the over-estimate put forward, on all sides, of their advancement in civilization at the epoch of their emancipation; the advocates of that measure gladly suffering themselves to be deceived by mere external demonstrations, whilst its opponents found their account in allowing it to be proved for them that Slavery was not so brutalising and debasing in its effects as the Anti-Slavery party at other times somewhat inconsistently asserted.

"That a great deal was at that time wanted, to elevate the character and to infuse tastes calculated to promote both mental and bodily exertion, seems now universally conceded; and as less progress seems since to have been made in Jamaica than anywhere, there will be ample room for a Minister of Public Instruction, whenever the new form of Government is inaugurated, to distinguish himself in the extension of education, the enforcement of sanitary precautions, and other similar tasks.

"Were proper measures promptly adopted and vigorously executed, for the promotion of these objects, there would be little cause to fear for the future prosperity of Jamaica; but the experience I have gained prepares me for the many impediments to the successful working of the new system; not the least being the utter absence of unanimity on every question, arising from the unfortunate jealousies and mutual distrust prevailing among different classes; to counteract which, by inculcating the absolute necessity of concord and union to save the country, was my chief aim in my replies to the eighteen congratulatory Addresses with which I was honoured in the course of my tour."

#### A CUBAN ON SLAVERY.

WE have been favoured with a copy of a Lecture on *Domestic Slavery in its relation with wealth*, delivered by a native Cuban, named Don Lorenzo Allo, Professor of Political Economy, at the Cuban Democratic Athenæum of New York, on the 1st of January 1854. This gentleman was proscribed and obliged to leave Cuba, on account of his Abolitionist and liberal views; and, we regret to add, died shortly after delivering the lecture from which we propose to present an extract or two. We have



reason to know that the opinions expressed by the late Lorenzo Allo, are entertained by no inconsiderable number of his countrymen; and it is only an act of justice to them that the fact should be made public, that they may be strengthened to advocate the cause of humanity by the Abolitionists of Great Britain.

We append the first proposition laid down by the Lecturer, and we believe it will be admitted, on all hands, that it is developed with singular power, whilst it is eminently religious in tone and spirit.

**"SLAVERY IS ANTAGONISTIC TO WEALTH.**

"There are three things that are inseparable: wealth, morality, and humanity. Some people believe that Slavery, supposing it to be morally right, contributes to the production of wealth; a most fatal error, since political economy would not be a true science if it were not based on morality.

"Let us seek in this science, and in Christianity, the first argument to combat Slavery. Morality is the science of what is just and unjust. Every man is called just or virtuous who is good, humane, and a civilizer; and every thing which is just is called good, because it produces inestimable benefits to the individual and to society. Christianity is based on morality and virtue, and all its doctrines proclaim the fraternity of men. Paganism was contrary to morality, to virtue, and did not comprehend the meaning of human brotherhood. The greatness of the pagan peoples was a false greatness. Where temples were raised to lewd and vengeful qualities, where labour was ignominious, and where man was not the brother of man, there could not be greatness, because there could not be virtue. There existed not there, modest love, probity, conjugal fidelity, nor any of the Christian virtues. Therefore those peoples fell into decay.

"Jesus Christ taught all the principles which constitute true morality, principles which serve as the foundation of his divine religion, and which have brought to the people wealth, science, progress, and prosperity. Wealth is not merely material; it is likewise intellectual and moral; and material wealth cannot even exist without creating the other two. Therefore, Slavery is contrary to the bases of Christianity, whose great doctrines are 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' and 'Do unto others what you would have others do unto you.'

"The second argument against Slavery is presented to us by history. When in Rome the proprietors of the soil cultivated the land with their own hands, they occupied themselves solely in the camp and in labour. When Cincinnatus was informed of his elevation to the Dictatorship, he was ploughing his field; and, hastening to his spouse, he said to her, 'I fear that my little farm must remain untill this year.' Rome was not, at that time, the mistress of the world; but her fields were in the most flourishing condition. When that same Rome entrusted agriculture to slaves, so that they might acquire wealth with blood, their fields were so neglected, that the conquerors of the world suffered wretchedness

and starvation. Rome saw herself compelled to import corn from Sicily, from Spain, and from Egypt; and to have an idea of her wretchedness, it is merely necessary to remember that the Europe of that day did not produce in one year even half of the fruits which any of its states produces at present.

"Rome always maintained Slavery, and in this we have the explanation how it was that the Teutonic races parcelled among themselves her provinces as birds of prey divide a dead body. The European peoples abolished Slavery, and the manumissions were followed by the discovery of the compass, the press, the perfection of agriculture, the commercial exchanges between nations, the development of the arts, schools, political right, and all the elements of wealth.

"The Romans, with slaves, suffered hunger, nakedness, and the yoke of their rulers: the peoples of Europe, without slaves, commenced the grand era of civilization and prosperity.

"History always presents to us identical examples; but let us examine the relative worth of labour, as in the hands of the slave and in those of the free man.

"Slaves are destined to domestic service, and to branches of industry. With respect to domestic service, experience shews that two free men work more than eight slaves; and with respect to industrial occupations that the difference is still greater.

"Let us see, then, the relative cost of free hands and slave hands. The free workman requires, in exchange for his labour, maintenance for himself and his family. The master of the slave must needs indemnify himself for the capital which his slave costs him; for the interest of that capital; for the expense of maintaining and providing for him medical attendance; and for the wages of the overseer. The comparison should not be made from individual to individual, but from property to property, or from factory to factory; since we have already seen that domestic service, as well as manufactures, requires more or less hands just as these are free or slave. Let us also recollect that the slave does not live so long as the free worker, and we may draw the deduction that the work of the slave costs more than the work of the free labourer. But it will be said, 'Why do so many people then make use of slaves?' The answer is simple: because where Slavery exists, domestic service and agricultural and manufacturing employments are degraded and are abandoned by free labourers: and hence it is that masters and contractors have no other resource but to recur to slave-labour, under the penalty of abandoning their fields or their undertakings.

"But let us see why the free labourer performs more, better, and cheaper work than the slave. The free labourer keeps in view his fortune, his family, his future: he studies, economises, undertakes, improves, invents, and overcomes all obstacles. The slave expects nothing from his toil: for him there is no stimulus but the whip; and he has not before him any scheme for his own and his sons' future. He is consequently, idle, insensible: his very intelligence is his worst enemy, since it only serves to point out his misfortune. He does not reason; he is stupid; he

cannot know the uses of machinery, the markets, the division of labour, nor their immense influence on the destiny of the individual and of society. Labour, with recompense, is man's first treasure; but without reward it is only martyrdom. The utility of the slave is negative: he does not devote his mind to work, but to avoid work.

"In slave states, not only is labour deprived of the advantage of having intelligent and skilful workers, but free men are required to watch and rule over the slaves, instead of improving the work. To these two grave evils must be added another no less fatal, that, namely, of accustoming all persons connected with Slavery to unite the ideas of production and Slavery, so that they aspire to become rich only by augmenting the number of their slaves. Ah! there are now existing in Cuba five hundred thousand intelligent beings, dead so far as labour is concerned. What should you be, oh Cuba, were it not for slaves!

"In all societies men are divided into capitalists and workers. But the workers do not live by the benevolence of capitalists; they live by what is more worthy. This world is God's world, and it is wonderfully organized. If there were no servants and labourers, capitalists and skilful men could not devote themselves to undertakings and inventions, since they would not have time to execute any of the works which are performed by the former. Capitalists live by workmen, as much as workmen live by capitalists. Their mutual wants are the providential means which form the bonds of human society and all the sources of wealth.

"Slavery breaks these bonds. In slave countries, whenever the capitalist requires hands he purchases men. The majority of his fellows are men without capital, but the capitalists disregard them, and hence it is that the majority of such persons are in want of food, because they are in want of work.

"Among these persons without capital, stand in the first rank women, particularly those who have lost parents, husbands, brothers. In a free country, as in New York for instance, there are for these women, workshops, manufactures, and every sort of occupation. In a land of slaves, as in Cuba, there are no workshops, and poor women are in want of the necessities of life, because they have no business to apply themselves to. Nothing, gentlemen, nothing remains to these women, not even the humble resource of domestic service, since if they entered into it they would be confounded with slaves.

"What is true of women in this respect, is equally true of children. In free countries they have workshops, and establishments, and schools; they can live, receive education, and even assist their indigent mothers. These children, in slave countries, have no occupation, and, instead of assisting their mothers, they only double the bitterness of their grief. Ah! this is horrible, because it is the truth.

"The condition of men without capital is not less unfortunate in countries of Slavery. They cannot become labourers, because the fields are cultivated by slaves; and they cannot devote themselves to occupations or branches

of industry, because there are no workshops nor manufactories; and because the arts will not flourish where they are degraded by Slavery.

"Without morality there is no prosperity; but let us see how it is that Slavery, wherever it exists, destroys morality. Without the whip there would be no slaves, since, by a natural law, man aspires to break all the obstacles which do violence to his understanding, to his will, and to his liberty. Masters, therefore, must be harsh, unjust, and inhuman. But, these masters have children; and the virtues which should be engraven on their souls are love, justice, and beneficence, or, in a single word, humanity. Consequently, the course which these masters have to pursue in regard to their slaves in the presence of their children, is for such children a school destructive to these virtues. These children, when their mind is opened to reason, believe that the just is unjust; believe that prosperity co-exists with Slavery; believe that the evil is good, and that the inhuman is humane.

"In connection with slavery, virtue is no longer virtue. For a slave woman to marry a slave and to preserve her conjugal fidelity, is to condemn herself and her children to slavery; and for that slave woman to surrender herself to a libertine, is to aspire to her own freedom and to the freedom of her children. This truth is seen in every slave country,—a sad truth which is confirmed by the extraordinary number of children born of slave women out of the bonds of matrimony. And these slave women, for whom virtue is not virtue, nurse their masters' children, and have a large share in the formation of their first ideas. How deplorable for children are these two schools! the conduct of their fathers as masters, and the example of the nurses who attend on them from their cradle.

"Labour is the only producer of wealth; and that law is a law of love, since it is it which maintains and binds societies together. Slavery violates that divine law in three senses: First, it takes from the slave that which God gave him, the fruit of his labour. Second, it gives to masters the fruit of a labour not theirs, though God has declared to man 'in the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread.' Third, it corrupts the soul of society with the anti-Christian doctrine and example that there may be wealth without toil, and morality with Slavery.

"From the doctrines laid down, these propositions spring: Slavery is contrary to the morality and to the religion of Christ; the peoples who maintained Slavery have eventually become impoverished and perished; Europe owes its present greatness to the manumission of slaves; slaves work badly as domestics and as labourers; Slavery breaks the bonds which in every society unite capitalists with workmen; the masters of slaves must be unjust, a thing which is demoralizing to their children; slave women disregard virtue, thereby corrupting childhood and society; Slavery deprives agriculture and the arts of the fecund impulse of intelligence; slave peoples have been unable to resist when tyrants oppressed or invaded them; and political economy, in accord with morality, sees in slavery a violation

of the law of God, and the worst enemy of prosperity."

We shall return to this subject, probably, in our next.

#### PETITION AGAINST CUBAN SLAVE-TRADE.

THE *West Indian* of the 19th January ultimo contains the following Petition relating to the continuance of the Slave-Trade to Cuba.

##### PETITION TO PARLIAMENT.

"TO THE QUEEN, LORDS, AND COMMONS.

"The humble Petition of the Undersigned Proprietors, Merchants, and other Inhabitants of Barbados—

"That in 1807, nearly fifty years ago, Great Britain abolished the slave-trade in her colonies, and in successive years made treaties with foreign nations to co-operate in this great work.

"That during the war, which terminated in 1815, through the vigilance of our cruisers this trade had become extinct.

"That the revival of it by some foreign countries after the war led to the renewal of treaties with most stringent provisions for its suppression.

"That in the case of Spain these treaties have been systematically violated, and that repeated remonstrances of Her Majesty's Government have failed to induce their observance.

"That the recent refusal of the Spanish Government to declare the slave-trade piracy, manifests that the counsels of that country are in no degree changed by recent events.

"That the slave-trade at Cuba is understood to be carried on by a few reckless and licentious adventurers, in defiance of the wishes of the principal proprietors of that colony, and stimulated by enormous gains.

"That while the British colonies have by great exertions surmounted the transition from Slavery to freedom; and while increasing confidence might be expected to lead to the influx of capital, to sustain and extend their cultivation, their efforts have been in a great measure paralyzed by the greater attraction of capital, where an indefinite command of slave-labour, extracted by the lash, and supported by the slave-trade, invites the speculation.

"That experience has shewn that the vigilance of our cruisers alone is insufficient to bring about the extinction of the nefarious traffic and the enforcement of treaties, unless the slave-traders can be dealt with as pirates, or the produce of the colonies raised by such means excluded from the British markets; and that as Spain has refused to co-operate with Great Britain in the former course, the undersigned petitioners pray that for the sake of humanity, and in support of the principle on which the slave-trade and Slavery have been abolished by the British nation, the produce of Cuba and Porto Rico may be excluded from the markets of the United Kingdom, until measures be taken by the Spanish Government for the effectual abolition of Slavery in those colonies."

#### AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

SLAVE SHIPS IN NEW-YORK HARBOUR.—"Our recent exposures of the slave-trade, as carried on in this city," says the *New-York Evangelist*, "have thrown into a flutter the gentry engaged in this infamous traffic. They are enraged at Captain Smith for having blurted out the whole truth. He is now less disposed to boast of his exploits, and begins to mistrust that his career may have an unpleasant termination. The authorities have been excited to new vigilance, and will keep a sharp look-out for suspicious vessels. They will need to be constantly on the watch. But a few days ago, a vessel, suspected of being a slaver, and which the district attorney intended to prosecute, was too quick for him, and slipped through his fingers, and got off to sea. But a second attempt of the kind has been brought up standing, as will be seen by the following notice in the morning papers—

'On Wednesday afternoon the attention of the associate United-States' District Attorney was called to the fact, that the schooner *George H. Townsend* was lying at Pier 48, East River, loading under circumstances leading to the belief that she was being fitted out for the purpose of taking Negroes from the coast of Africa to Cuba. It was ascertained that in her burthen she resembled, in a great measure, the ill-fated *Julia Moulton*, and that the persons on board made no secret of her proposed illegal enterprise, and that she was taking in boards and materials suited for laying a slave-deck. On Friday application was made to clear the schooner at the Custom House for Gambia and Sierra Leone, the cargo appearing to be shipped by Mr. John A. Machado, for account of a Mr. Brown, said to be a merchant at Gambia, and a British subject. The character of the entire cargo of the *Townsend*, as appeared on the Custom House manifest, is similar to that of the barque *Millandon*, which sailed from this port on the 17th of December 1853, for a like destination, and which barque shared the fate of the *Julia Moulton*, namely, being burned after landing a cargo of Slaves on the coast of Cuba. The schooner is said to be owned by American citizens residing at Hempstead, Long Island, and to have been chartered by them to Mr. Machado for one year. Under these and other circumstances, which the District Attorney does not deem it expedient to make public at present, a libel was filed against the vessel and cargo, and she is now in the custody of Mr. Hillyer, the United-States' Marshal.'

THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.—A short time ago the *Charleston Mercury* contained a series of articles upon the necessity to the South of re-opening the African Slave-trade. The point aimed at was the cheapening of labour in the South, so as to enable Southerners to turn barren and neglected lands into flourishing plantations. The subject has since been introduced into the South-Carolina Legislature. The Washington Correspondent of the *New-York Express* says of it—

"The chief topic of conversation is the proposition reported to the South-Carolina Legislature for the re-opening of the African slave-trade. That proposition, astounding as it may seem, has



many advocates among the Southern people, and especially among that class to whom fortune has not been more than moderately propitious. The present high price of Negroes prevents their purchase in any considerable number, unless by those who are possessed of abundant capital. Consequently, the man of small means is precluded from embarking in the business of planting, from which his more fortunate neighbours are deriving annual incomes of from 50 to 100 per cent., according to the price of cotton. If the slave-trade were revived, it is argued the price of good field-hands would fall from 1100 dollars to 700 dollars, the price in Cuba, and the planting interest of the South be materially enlarged and benefited. More labourers could then be obtained for internal improvements, &c., as well as for manufacturing purposes. The great want of the South, say certain politicians of that region, is a deficiency in the supply of labour. There is a great work to be done there; a great harvest to be reaped; but the labourers are wanting. Whence shall these labourers be obtained but from that 'dry nurse' of Negroes as well as lions—Africa?

"As an illustration of the scarcity of slave-labour at the South, it may be mentioned, that in Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, and New Orleans, Irish and German servants of both sexes are very numerous, and annually increasing. In Richmond and Washington they are still more abundant in proportion to the population; and the time is probably not very far distant when the bulk of the labour in the Southern cities will be performed by freemen."

**THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.**—The following is extracted from a letter, addressed by the Rev. Hiram Wilson, under date January 10, 1855, to the Editor of the *Liberator*—

"About the winding up of 1854, and the opening of the present year, we have been favoured with a few very important accessions from the land of Slavery. During the last week in December four noble-looking men arrived, (three in one company from Virginia, and one from the State of Maryland,) the three from Virginia at my door seeking a shelter at the hour of midnight. With a right good relish we rose and ministered to them. Two of this trio of liberty-loving pilgrims, with another less fortunate than they, had absconded from their master nearly a year ago, made themselves familiar with forest life, foraging as best they could upon their enemies, and dwelling some five months in a little cavern, of their own creation, in the side of a bank or hill, by a stream of water. Great search was made for them, and at length they were discovered. Ferocious men were at the mouth of the cave with loaded guns pointing in upon them, and threatening them with death if they did not surrender. One of them, a huge man, six feet tall, with broad axe in hand, started to sally forth, and bade his comrades to follow. They made the attempt; but, alas! two of them (who are now here) were instantly riddled in their limbs with buckshot. They were lodged in jail for one month. They broke out and fled, but were retaken, and sold to a Tennessean slave-trader. By such stratagem as I am not at liberty to describe, they parted with their pur-

chaser in less than an hour, to see his face no more, and were on their way to Canada. The manner of coming through to this goodly land of freedom is a mystery which I am not at liberty to reveal. Their friends between here and Old Virginia will receive their hearty thanks, without requiring the use of language as a medium. The last fugitive of the last year came to me with but one eye, his right eye having been knocked out by a brutal overseer. His head was so broken and injured, that for six weeks he hardly knew whether he was dead or living! So he says. So his eyeless socket and scars testify. What will Dr. Adams say to these things?

"I have just had the pleasure of receiving a company of ten from the State of Maryland. By traffickers in human flesh and blood they were valued at about 10,000 dollars: here they value themselves, and are valued, infinitely higher. Eight of them are hale, athletic men, with the exception of one, whose feet were frozen on his way. At present he is a poor invalid, but thankful to God for his freedom. The women are merry as larks, and the whole company rejoicing 'with joy unspeakable.'

"The fourteen under notice have all received such comfort and encouragement as their several cases required. Eleven of them having been furnished with axes, are in the forests near St. Catherine's, making charming music, such as industrious axemen know both how to produce and appreciate. I would love to tell you in a more private way about the ten, and how they got here; but their friends of the U. G. R. R. will accept from them ten thousand thanks.

"I cannot close my brief note without an expression of lively gratitude towards British friends who have effectually remembered the poor bondman, and the more favoured fugitive."

**FUGITIVE SLAVES IN CANADA.**—The following letter has been received by the Chief Constable at Montreal from a police officer of Maryland:

"Frederick, Maryland,

"United States of America, Jan. 1, 1855.

"To the Chief of Police, Montreal, Canada—

"DEAR SIR—Though the laws of your province preclude Slavery, and you may deem it improper that I should address you relative to that question which has created so great sectional animosity at home, and elicited such disapproval abroad, still, believing that a sense of justice influences every right-thinking man in the formation of his judgment and the mode of his conduct, I have taken the liberty, which, if it meets not with views alike to mine, will be pardoned.

"Vast numbers of Slaves, escaping from their masters or owners, succeeded in reaching your provinces, and are therefore without the pale of the 'Fugitive Slave Law,' and can only be restored by cunning, together with skill.

"Large rewards are offered and will be paid for their return; and could I find an efficient person to act with me, a great deal of money could be made, as I would equally divide. Many are willing to come after writing to that effect. The only apprehension we have, in approaching too far into Canada, is the fear of being arrested; and had I a good assistant in your city, who would induce the Negroes to the frontier, I would be there to pay cash. On your answer, I can

furnish names and descriptions of Negroes which will fully reward the trouble.

"Answer, either to accept or decline.

"Yours, JOHN H. HOPE,  
"Police officer and constable."

#### THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD IN DANGER.—

"A Bill was presented in the Illinois Legislature, on the 16th instant, to prevent the carrying of coloured people on the railroads of that State, which was read twice, and referred, and will probably pass the House of Representatives. The Bill provides, that no 'black or coloured person, denominated a Negro, shall be carried on or along any railroad in this State, by any railroad in the State, without a duly certified certificate of freedom of such Negro or Mulatto person being first presented to the conductor of the train, and a copy of such certificate left with the conductor or agent.' Section 2 provides, that any railroad company, or its conductor or agent, which carries a slave without any such certificate, shall be liable to the owner of such slave or mulatto in twice the value of such slave, to be recovered in the usual way".—*Liberator*.

THE CUBAN EXPEDITION.—The Correspondent of the *New-York Tribune*, writing from Washington under date the 15th of January last, says:

"I have positive and trustworthy information, to the effect that there has been another grand failure of the Quitman Expedition against Cuba, the head-quarters of which have for some time past been at Natchez. Quitman and his party were confident that they would be able to leave during the first week of the present month, but their assurances have proved altogether delusive. The large amount of funds stated to have been received from the Cubans, instead of being 500,000 dollars, as asserted by Quitman, Thrasher, & Co., in their private Circular, did not amount to 50,000 dollars. The last steamer from Havana brought numerous letters from Cubans who favour a revolution. I have seen several of the said documents: all of them are of the same tenor. They state very decidedly that not another dime will be sent from Cuba; that they have no confidence in the leaders; and that no satisfaction has been given to them as to the disposal of the funds which have been contributed. Quitman and his friends do not give up the ship as yet. They still see a hope, and they now rely with much confidence on a new plan, which they say cannot fail. The details of the new organization have not been decided upon, but it is their intention to take advantage of the Kinney humbug. They say that there is not a man in the Kinney expedition but will hail with joy an organization to take Cuba. On the arrival of Kinney's men in Central America, they will find that they are not in a land of milk and honey, and that death must be their fate if they remain there; and, therefore, an opportunity to better themselves will be embraced by all.

"Colonel Kinney was in the secrets of the Pampero expedition; in fact, he was the only

person, except General Lopez, T. D. Harper, L. J. Sigur, and a man at New Orleans named Cushing, who was aware of the purchase of the Pampero for an expedition. Kinney was entrusted with the organization of a regiment in Texas, which regiment would have been the first sent to Cuba, had not certain circumstances prevented. It is therefore thought by Quitman and his friends that he will be ready and willing to come into their schemes. We shall see."

#### Advertisement.

Now ready, price One Shilling, neatly bound, with a Portrait,

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EDITED BY

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